THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 152 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · MARCH 15, 1941 NUMBER 11

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Published weekly and copyright, 1941, in the U. S. A. by The Nation, Inc., 55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Washington Bureau: 856 National Press Building, Washington, D. C. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

The Shape of Things

THE DRAWN-OUT DEBATES IN CONGRESS ON the Lease-Lend bill at times seemed to exemplify Hitler's sneers at the hopeless inefficiency of democratic processes. But now the bill has become law, after minority opinion has been given ample opportunity to express itself, we have a chance to make up for lost time by rallying around the President and making it possible for him to use his new powers swiftly and effectively. Senator Vandenberg has given a good lead by pointing out that even the emphatic two-to-one vote in the Senate for the bill did not represent the true extent of the desire to aid Britain, which was shown more exactly by the fact that 90 out of 95 Senators supported either the bill itself or the Taft substitute. We hope Axis commentators will ponder these figures, which should also serve as a warning to Senator Wheeler and his fellow irreconcilables who are threatening a raging, tearing campaign throughout the country in opposition to the principles of the Lease-Lend Act. For if the Republicans now gracefully accept the *fait accompli,* these "crusaders" will have to seek support among a motley assembly of dubious elements—Coughlinites, assorted fascists, Jew-baiters, and Communist fellow-travelers. Anticipating the passage of the bill the President is believed to have plans drawn up for making it immediately effective. The news that Britain lost 148,000 tons of shipping in the week ending March 2 should act as a spur. Hitler's spring Blitz has begun. Let us speed the tools to counteract it.

*

BRITAIN'S REJECTION OF MR. HOOVER'S PLAN for establishing experimental soup kitchens in Belgium preparatory to developing methods of feeding the peoples of other occupied nations may seem harsh. But the arguments brought forward are impressive and Mr. Hoover in his reply has not succeeded in controverting them. The British position is that the blockade is directed against the whole economic machine of the enemy, intended not only to deprive him of imported goods but to drive him into using uneconomic methods of production and distribution, and to aggravate transport problems so as to interfere with military operations. A recent report by the official Berlin Institute for Research into Economic

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Trends concluded "Germany is in a position to guarantee the feeding of every single individual on the continent of Europe." And this is true provided food is not used as an industrial raw material, for instance in distilling industrial alcohol from potatoes, and is given transport priority. Mr. Hoover claims he has promises from Berlin that breadstuffs and soup materials will be released for Belgium if his plan goes through. But the Germans will have to release such supplies, in any case, because they are attempting to exploit Belgium economically and cannot permit its workers and their families to starve. Another point on which Mr. Hoover's assurances are inadequate is the administration of his relief scheme. He promises complete American supervision but who will service the actual soup kitchens? We know that in Spain food provided by the American Red Cross is being handed out by a Falangist organization and used as a political argument. Would the same thing be done in Belgium by the Nazi "Winter Relief" or a Rexist organization?

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ADMIRAL DARLAN, VICHY DEPUTY PREMIER, recently made a bitter attack on the blockade and threatened to use the French navy to convoy foodships. He declared that the blockade was useless as a weapon against the Germans, whom he described as "more generous and more understanding of the needs of humanity than the English." And, as an illustration, he pointed out that Germany had released for consumption in the occupied zone two million quintals of French wheat out of 2,700,000 previously requisitioned for the German army. As an example of Nazi generosity this appears a trifle ironical: it seems rather a striking proof of the effectiveness of the British blockade. There is no doubt that Germany is egging on Vichy to break the blockade, hoping that embroilment with the British navy may bring France back into the war as an Axis ally. The United States could do much to spoil this effort by making it clear to Marshal Pétain that America's vital interests call for a British victory and that it will discourage blockade-running by refusing to sell food or provide financial facilities.

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THE RAID ON THE LOFOTEN ISLANDS, OFF Northern Norway, carried out last week by a joint British and Norwegian naval squadron, has a significance beyond its immediate results. Not that these are unimportant: 18,000 tons of shipping and an armed German trawler were sunk, a big glycerine plant—useful for explosives—destroyed, and 215 Germans and ten "Quislingists" captured. In addition, the raiders were able to recruit a number of volunteers for the Norwegian forces in Britain and leave supplies for the inhabitants of the islands. But, beyond all, this successful expedition must have sent a thrill of hope throughout Norway. We may be sure that there will be more British raids of this kind not only on Norway but on other occupied countries. For if the long stretch of Europe's coastline which he controls is an advantage to Hitler, it also carries its hazards. Not all his men can guard every mile of it and a time will come when larger expeditions will be landed, bringing arms for those now fighting with bare hands. The first news of the Lofoten raid was a statement from Berlin saying that it lacked "any military importance whatever." To those versed in Nazi methods this nonchalant account clearly indicated an attempt to forestall the British story, which could not be published until the return of the expedition. But now the Germans have exposed the falsity of their own report by a dispatch stating that the Nazi commissioner Terboven had ordered the burning of all property belonging to the families of men who volunteered to go with the British, and levied a large fine on the inhabitants of the island for the benefit of the families of those taken prisoner.

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WE CONGRATULATE THE STATE DEPARTMENT on its decision to close down two Italian consulates—a step which we advocated in these pages on February 22. We are glad also to note that the Italian embassy has been asked to restrict movements of consular officers to their own districts and to report to the State Department any journey by military and naval attachés. For all the formality of its diplomatic wording, Mr. Hull's communication to the Italian ambassador makes no attempt to conceal the fact that this action is retaliation for the closing of two American embassies in Italy and for the much more severe restrictions to which our representatives in Italy have recently been forced to submit. This firm action should serve as a salutary warning to the Axis against kicking our interests around.

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JOURNALISTIC BOOBY PRIZE OF THE WEEK goes to the editors of the New York *Times* for their handling of the press conference at which the President pointed out that strikes have affected only about one-quarter of one per cent of defense industry at any one time. Had Mr. Roosevelt deplored strikes in defense industries, one may be sure it would have been in headlines. As it was, the *Times* carefully sandwiched the President's statement inside a story based on a War Department press release about a minor airport building strike at Dayton, Ohio. Neither the head nor the subhead referred to what Mr. Roosevelt had said. This is in accord with the policy of most newspapers in playing up every strike they can find. The purpose is to whip up hysteria for legislative action curbing labor's rights. The *Times* added hypocrisy to distortion the next day with an editorial expressing great surprise over what Mr. Roosevelt had said. It wanted to know his sources. The source is

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the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Every Washington correspondent has been in possession of the figures for some time. In contrast to the phony surprise of the *Times* is the testimony of a conservative confidential news service from Washington, written for people who can afford to pay a big price and do not need to be fooled. It says that the only two serious stoppages on defenses have been the Vultee and Allis-Chalmers strikes. If the President's figures do, indeed, differ "so radically from the public impression regarding the situation," it is because the public has been given a distorted picture by its newspapers, the *Times* among them.

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THESE SAME NEWSPAPERS WERE MUCH LESS reticent about playing up President Roosevelt's pronouncement on jurisdictional strikes a day or so later. We can understand the President's strong feeling over the hampering of defense production by walkouts based on no ground other than the employment of men belonging to a competitive union. But the problem is not always so simple; employers have been known to cultivate jurisdictional situations to their own advantage. Nor do we see the need for a new super-board to handle labor mediation. Philip Murray of the C. I. O., in a memorandum submitted to Sidney Hillman last week, forcefully argued the case against a new agency of this sort. If it is merely to mediate, Murray asks, why not add to the manpower of our efficient United States Conciliation Service? In the event of some major strike in a great industry, the President has power to name a special board, as he did in the case of the steel strike. But the proposal to establish a new labor board with power "to formulate policies on labor relations and practices in defense industries with a view to avoiding delays" opens the door to modifications of the Wage-Hour, Wagner, and Walsh-Healey Acts. No new agency is needed if these laws are to be enforced, and if they are enforced there will be less cause for strikes. Big business wants the board as a bulwark against unionism and a means of suspending labor reforms "during the emergency."

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A FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION REPORT ON canning corporations is of interest in this connection. For it throws ironic light on the recent effort to use the canners as an entering wedge for suspension of overtime provisions on defense contracts. The effort was unsuccessful but may be renewed. The report shows that the canning industry is in an unusually profitable condition. In 1939 our ten leading fruit-and-vegetable-canning corporations earned a return of 13 per cent on their stockholders' investment after payment of all bond interest and taxes, including income taxes. Canning seems to be one of the few industries in this country of which the profits are as great as its wage bill. Production wages and salaries in 1939 were $24,641,523; net income after taxes was $24,616,556. The ratio of wages to other items was unusually low; less than ten cents on every dollar of sales went to wages. This means that a 10 per cent increase in wages would amount to a one per cent increase in total price. The canners already have so many exemptions under the Walsh-Healey Act that less than one-tenth of government purchases from the industry has been subject to it; and so many exemptions from the Wage-Hour law that the canners can operate twenty-eight weeks a year without payment of overtime for work beyond forty hours a week. Like the Associated Farmers, the canners provide a useful front for big business.

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DESPERATE EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE BY conservative commentators to erect the molehill of rebuke in the Supreme Court's 5-3 decision in the Express Publishing Company case into a mountainous obstacle to the Labor Board's powers. A sweeping board order against a San Antonio newspaper was reduced by the majority of the board to a restraint against the practices of which the paper had been guilty. The majority, speaking through Justice Stone, agrees with the minority that the violator of a law "may be restrained from committing other related unlawful acts." But on the facts of this case it saw no reason for an order which went beyond instructing the newspaper to bargain with its employees. The minority—Justice Douglas speaking for himself and Justices Black and Reed—seem to agree with the majority on the facts in this case. But it fears that to restrict the order might invite the employer to evade other provisions of the Act. The danger is obvious; the remedy for violations is but slowly obtained. We prefer the minority's reasoning but the majority leaves little comfort for those seeking new ways of hamstringing the Wagner Act. It warns that though board restraining orders cannot go beyond the practices of which the employer was guilty, the court will not permit evasion of the order "by indirections or formal observances which in fact defy it."

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ONE RESULT OF *THE NATION'S* EDITORIAL on housing in its issue of February 1 is that the White House has asked Harold E. Pomeroy, formerly executive secretary of the Associated Farmers, to resign as aide to Defense Housing Coordinator Charles Palmer. Palmer placed Pomeroy in charge of the home registration division. It is the job of this division to advise local defense-housing bodies and aid them in taking legal steps to maintain normal rentals for housing. As *The Nation* said, Mr. Pomeroy is "not a vigilante or a thug or a fascist" as his connection with the sinister Associated Farmers might imply. He seems to have found working for them distasteful, and resigned after but a year in office. But his long associations with reactionary busi-

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ness and political circles in California make him a poor choice for a job that calls for a certain militancy, independence, and willingness to buck powerful interests. Mr. Pomeroy, we are informed, has refused to resign, and it remains to be seen whether his chief will oust him. A correspondent claims that our editorial did some injustice to Coordinator Palmer's housing record in Atlanta in the past, and on investigation we believe the objection well taken. It is also encouraging to report that recent criticism seems to have left Mr. Palmer less ready to compromise. Maybe he will yet prove that the National Association of Real Estate Boards was too hasty in supporting him. We hope so, but we are still keeping our fingers crossed. After all it was Palmer who picked Pomeroy.

*

WE HOPE THAT THE HOUSE WILL APPROVE a resolution introduced by Congressman John J. Sparkman of Alabama to extend the life of the Tolan committee investigating conditions among our migratory workers. A large amount of migration has been made necessary by the defense program. About 65 per cent of primary defense contracts, as Federal Security Commissioner Paul V. McNutt points out, are in the Northeast and Pacific states, which have only about 40 per cent of our unemployed labor. McNutt joined with Defense Commissioners Chester C. Davis and Harriet V. Elliott in urging that Congress continue the work of the Tolan committee. For the problem of defense labor migrations, with the burdens they may impose locally on community facilities for housing, education, health, welfare, and recreation, can be met effectively only if we are in full possession of the facts. Inquiry is needed not merely to help in the reallocation of labor but also in laying the groundwork for solution of the problems inevitably created for the post-war period by these temporary shifts in population. Serious situations have already developed at many points. The Tolan committee and its staff, with a year's study behind it, is the only governmental agency qualified to deal with these special problems.

*

SHERWOOD ANDERSON, WHO DIED LAST week at sixty-four, was one of the leaders in the literary revolt against the American small town which gave us the "Spoon River Anthology" and "Main Street." His "Winesburg, Ohio" was no less sharp in its strictures about the frustrations and consequent distortions of life and of the individual constrained in village mores, but as Carl Van Doren pointed out in *The Nation* at the time, Anderson still cherished the memories of some specific Winesburg. He revolted personally against his own small town of Elmyra, Ohio, where he had "settled down" as manager of a paint factory after a turn in the Spanish-American war. He went to Chicago where he met and came under the tutelage of the group which included Theodore Dreiser, Carl Sandburg, and others. During the next decade, he wrote his best books, including "Winesburg," living in various cities at home and abroad. But as soon as he could get the money together he bought a newspaper in the small town of Marion, Virginia, and his last book was "Home Town," a nostalgic celebration of the "specific Winesburg" he continued to cherish. This does not mean, however, that he had come to accept the poverties and the stupidities of small-town life. It was rather that, as he wrote in "A Story Teller's Story," he wanted "as all men do, to belong," a desire which finds no satisfaction in the rootlessness of life in American cities.

Road to Asia Minor

HITLER'S ostentatious diplomatic offensive in the Balkans may be a feint but we are inclined to regard it as the prelude to his major spring campaign. This would mean that he had accepted the fact that, for the time being, the Western front is deadlocked, just as it was by the trench system of the last war, with the Channel taking the place of No Man's Land. In these circumstances attempts at invasion would have to be postponed until aerial bombardment and the submarine blockade had weakened the island's powers of resistance.

Meanwhile, where could the German army, which is eating its head off, be more profitably employed than in sundering Britain's imperial life-line in the Near East? It is difficult to regard the massive movement of German troops into the Balkans as a mere rescue party for Mussolini. Yet if the Nazi march stopped at the shores of the Aegean, that is about all it would accomplish. For the British would be left in possession of Crete, their navy would still be master of the eastern Mediterranean, and they would continue to control the oilfields of Irak and Iran. It is impossible, therefore, to explain the efforts now being made to take Yugoslavia and Greece into the Axis unless it is planned to use these countries as way-stations for the invasion of Turkey and the use of that country in turn as a base for still wider conquests.

In the Balkans the role of the German army is still secondary to that of the diplomatists and propagandists. It remains very visibly in the background, spreading out over Bulgaria and along the Greek and Turkish frontiers, consolidating its positions for a spring offensive when the word is given. Meanwhile every psychological device known to the Nazi masters of terror is being used to hammer on the taut nerves of those countries which have not yet submitted to the Axis. A stream of rumors pours forth day after day from the German agencies and the many news sources in Belgrade, Budapest, and other cities which are under German control or influence.

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A few days ago Yugoslavia seemed really to succumb, at least to the extent of signing a non-aggression pact which would effectively neutralize that country during German operations against Greece. But some hitch in the negotiations has occurred which at the time of going to press has not been explained. According to some accounts, Hitler is not satisfied with the compromise proposed by the Yugoslav government in the hope that it would be allowed to remain a bystander in the Balkan troubles, but insists on full adherence to the Axis, and, presumably, on the right to occupy the country. Other reports speak of growing popular opposition to any deal.

Until this matter is settled, the Nazis will be unable to turn their full heat on Greece. There are rumors of a German ultimatum to Athens but this seems unlikely. Hitler does not usually present an ultimatum until either its acceptance has been assured by "unofficial" representations or the invasion of the threatened country has actually started. But no doubt the German envoy in Athens is hard at work combining bullying with cajolement. One moment he will draw attention to the *Panzer* divisions waiting at the border and to the planes ready to take off from Bulgarian airports; the next, he will praise Greek valor in the war against Italy, hint that all has been done that honor demands, and suggest that cooperation with the Axis now will give Greece a preferred position at the peace table.

So far there is no indication that the Greek government is weakening. Its position, truly, is difficult in the extreme. We do not know what undertaking Mr. Eden was able to give during his recent visit but it seems improbable that enough British troops can be spared to make certain of checking a German invasion at the border. Britain cannot afford to risk another Dunkirk at Salonika and it may feel bound to hold such reserves as it has for the eventual defense of the Straits in conjunction with Turkey.

Yet desperate as their situation appears, the Greeks continue to insist that they will never surrender but will fight for every inch of their country. And while they make preparations to meet German invasion in the Struma valley they continue to press the Italians hard in central Albania. It seems likely, therefore, that Hitler's hope of a bloodless conquest of the Balkans will be dashed by a nation who, in the proud words of a Greek journalist, "will show to the world how to die as she has shown the world how to fight."

It seems improbable, too, that Turkey will respond to the Nazi spider's soft invitation to "walk into my parlor." Special messengers flew to Ankara last week bearing, it was reported, an assurance from Hitler that he had no intention of invading Turkey and was only anxious for friendship and peaceful trade relations. The Turkish government has yet to respond officially to this overture, but very wisely, considering the fate of those who have previously listened to this siren message, it is mobilizing more troops and making other defensive preparations. As a correspondent points out on page 294 of this issue, Turkey is in a difficult dilemma. It has a large army but is short of equipment and is particularly vulnerable to air attacks and ill-prepared to meet them. If it fulfills the strict letter of its obligations to Greece, it may leave its own flank open to attack. At present it seems to be playing for time and possibly it has assurances from Britain that aid is on the way. But whether or not Turkey takes the initiative when Greece is attacked, there is general agreement that any assault on its own independence would be resisted to the end. And since Turkey commands the only land route for the conquest of the Near East, that assault seems inevitable in the near future unless Russia, whose interests are also at stake, plucks up courage to oppose Hitler with something more awesome than *post facto* protests.

Which Way Japan?

WITH Vichy's acceptance of the Japanese-imposed peace terms, Tokyo achieved another bloodless victory in its campaign for the mastery of Southeast Asia. Under the settlement, the French surrender to Thailand all territory in Pakse and Luang Prabang provinces west of the Mekong River as well as a strip varying up to twenty-five miles in breadth along Cambodia's north and west frontiers.

Details of what Japan obtained for itself as a result of the agreement have not yet been released, but they are probably more significant than Thailand's gains. It may be taken for granted that Japan's previous penetration of the northern portion of the colony will be extended southward to include the strategic area around Saigon. Whether Japan will be granted access to the naval bases now existing in that region is not yet clear, but it may be assumed that it will take over the bases as soon as they are required. Furthermore, as a price for obtaining Vichy's capitulation, Tokyo is expected to exact heavy payment from Thailand. Not much is likely to be said publicly about the terms of this payment, but if Japan's next step is to be, as many observers believe, a drive against Burma, Thailand will doubtless serve as the chief base for the drive.

It would be dangerous to assume, however, that such a drive is inevitable. Despite the ease of its Indo-China victory, Tokyo is obviously at odds concerning its next step. The military clique wants to move on; it believes that there will never be another time more suitable for Japan to achieve its historic destiny. But naval and civilian elements have opposed precipitant action, preferring to await the outcome of the Battle of Britain.

That Japan's next drive is still unsettled despite innu-

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merable bellicose statements regarding Japan's future in Southwest Asia may be surmised from Foreign Minister Matsuoka's sudden decision to visit Berlin. The trip is open to many interpretations. Some commentators assume that he has gone to Berlin to receive orders from headquarters. This, however, hardly seems likely. Japan probably received its orders quite some time ago, and it may be guessed that they called for an attack on Britain's Asiatic possessions prior to, or simultaneously with, the Nazi drive in the Mediterranean and the North Atlantic. But the Navy group asks why a weakened Japan should risk a simultaneous conflict with Britain and the United States when it is evident that neither Berlin nor Rome is in a position to aid their eastern Axis partner. And they argue that the least Berlin can do is bring pressure on Moscow forcing the Soviets into a non-aggression pact with Japan so as to prepare the way for a drive to the south. The Japanese have been trying to get a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union for six months, but the most they have been able to achieve so far is a temporary fisheries agreement and the settlement of one or two minor trade matters. Matsuoka is scheduled to stop in Moscow, and it is no secret that he hopes to return with some sort of general treaty in his pocket.

Faced with a demand for concrete assistance, Hitler is likely to bluster and threaten to cut Japan off from the benefits of an Axis victory in Europe. Six months ago these tactics might have been successful. Germany was then confident that it could win without Japanese aid, and the Japanese themselves seem to have been persuaded to this viewpoint when they signed the Tripartite Pact. But the situation has changed and no one knows it better than the clever Matsuoka.

In the end Hitler can hardly escape making concessions to Japan, and it may be assumed that renewed pressure will be brought on Moscow to achieve a Soviet-Japanese treaty. Moscow is reported to be making stiff demands for such a treaty, and Tokyo is said to be prepared, in part at least, to grant them. These appear to include restoration of the North Manchuria railway to Soviet control, and surrender by Japan of the southern part of Sakhalin Island. But the larger question of continued Soviet aid to China remains a stumbling block. Moscow has made sacrifices to prevent Japanese domination of China, and it is hardly likely to yield on this point at a moment when its bargaining position is stronger than it has ever been. A Soviet-Japanese pact, then, would almost certainly make some vital provision regarding China. What this provision would be can only be guessed. It is known that Japan has offered peace terms to China on several occasions, and it is reported that these terms have been increasingly liberal. It is not impossible therefore that Matsuoka will ask Germany to undertake settlement of the Chinese war as a price for a Japanese drive against Britain in the South Seas.

Insurance Under Fire

THE shortcomings of America's traditional forms of life insurance have never been more thoroughly demonstrated than in the summary, just released, of the hearings of the Temporary National Economic Committee. Life insurance is shown to be America's greatest business enterprise. The 365 companies engaged in this business have an annual income totaling more than $5 billion, or only slightly less than the receipts of the United States government. The face value of the 124 million outstanding policies is $111 billion—nearly double our national income in recent years. Assets of the twenty-six largest companies are $28 billion and are expected to reach from $37 billion to $40 billion by 1950, which is about the size of our national debt before the present emergency. The ten largest companies control 70 per cent of the assets possessed by all the companies—a concentration of wealth and economic power comparable only to that enjoyed by our great banks.

Some idea of the extent of the economic power wielded by the life insurance companies may be gained from the ubiquitous presence of directors and executives of these companies on the boards of other business enterprises. The 135 directors of the five largest life insurance companies were found to be serving as directors of 100 other insurance companies, of 145 banks and other financial institutions, and of no less than 534 industrial, real estate, or other corporations—a total of some 780 other corporations. Many instances are cited in which this interlocking had definite influence on the apportionment of funds or other business favors. In general it was found that the life insurance companies—with their huge accumulations of money saved by men of moderate means—favored big industries as against small industries in making their investments. Life-insurance executives are quoted to show that industrial loans of under $100,000 are not wanted and are practically never made. The bulk of investments are in United States government bonds, mortgages, railroad and public utility bonds, real estate, and policy loans. Antiquated laws governing the legal investments of such companies are, of course, chiefly responsible for the essentially unproductive use of the life insurance companies' huge reservoir of capital, but the companies themselves were found to be largely uninterested in the broader economic and social implications of their investment policies.

If the life insurance companies were efficiently performing the task for which they were established, we might be disposed to overlook some of the evils which have arisen in connection with their growth and operation. For there can be no denying that the protection of families against want arising from the premature death of the family breadwinner is of the greatest social

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importance. Yet despite the 124 million policies, the investigation shows that the companies have failed conspicuously in their main task. The great majority of American families are virtually unprotected against the economic hazards associated with the death of a chief wage-earner, and those who have protection pay far more than they should for this essential service. This is most evident in the case of industrial insurance—which is the only insurance carried by most low-income families. Out of nearly 200 million industrial policies terminated between 1928 and 1937, only 4.45 per cent were terminated by death and less than one per cent by maturity. "Thus," the TNEC report observes, "only slightly more than 5 per cent of the policies which go off the books . . . terminate in a manner which represents the accomplishment of the purpose for which the insurance must be deemed to have been taken out." Taking all insurance together, ordinary as well as industrial, we find that 78 per cent lapses or is surrendered, and that only 22 per cent is paid out either as death benefits or as matured policies. The lapses represented a loss to the policyholders—and a gain for the companies—of some $66 million a year between 1918 and 1937.

The cost of insurance to policyholders is shown to be high beyond any economic justification. This is attributed to a number of factors, including the costs of blundering, high-pressure salesmanship; unnecessary multiplicity of policies; the difficulties placed in the way of the prospective policyholder who seeks to compare costs between policies or between companies; and excessive overhead. Amazing differences are revealed in the costs of similar policies taken out with various companies—differences which are not revealed by merely studying the rates. For example, we find that the net cost of a standard $1,000 policy from the most expensive company is more than three times that of the company granting the most advantageous terms.

Apart from suggestions for the remedying of minor abuses, the TNEC report carries no recommendations for the solution of the grave problem arising from the failure of legal reserve life insurance to do the job set out for it. Savings-bank life insurance is praised for its economy, but its record in Massachusetts does not suggest that it will ever meet the insurance needs of the majority of the population. On the contrary, that state's thirty-eight-year experience shows rather conclusively that the families needing protection most cannot be relied upon to take the initiative in seeking it. Nor can they safely be left to the mercy of high-pressure salesmanship. As with unemployment, old-age, and health protection, voluntary and private methods have been tried and found wanting.

All experience, both here and abroad, points to the need of compulsory, low-cost survivors' insurance if basic protection is to be afforded. A start in this direction has been made in the revised Social Security Act. But it is evident that this protection needs to be extended and liberalized.

Wheeler's Cliveden Set

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 8

THE lease-lend bill, a measure no more extraordinary than the times in which we live, finally passed the Senate tonight. The future is in the hands of Mr. Roosevelt. Within a few weeks, it is probable that there will be a declaration of emergency, a move likewise without precedent. It will be imposed for its psychological effect. The hope is to obtain war-time powers at home, as abroad, without actual participation in war, a step which no responsible spokesman for the Administration regards as other than a last step, to be avoided as long as possible. The chances are that before the issuance of a declaration of this kind, a triple-barreled attack by the Axis powers, against England, in the Mediterranean, and in the Pacific, will amply provide the sense of urgency so necessary to an effective effort. The President, in his address tonight to diners commemorating the eighth anniversary of the New Deal's agricultural program, used the phrase which is the key to the period we are entering, "Total Defense."

Though it will interfere with business-as-usual, the adjective is total, not totalitarian. An opposition crystalized and united by the fight against the lease-lend bill will do its best to represent the defense effort in a sinister light, although this opposition is itself infected with the totalitarian virus. Senator Wheeler, with his excursion into Coughlinite demagogy, seems tempted to complement his record for tolerance in the last war with a little sly dabbling in anti-Semitism in this one. Last January 11 in the columns of the Washington *Daily News,* Senator Wheeler debated the lease-lend bill with Senator Wagner. The Senator from Montana was generous. "There are those," he admitted, "who are honest, sincere, patriotic, Christian gentlemen who oppose a negotiated peace at this time—certainly among them is my good friend, Senator Wagner." In a radio

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address delivered March 3, the Montanan said, "Now we find these same international bankers with their friends the royal refugees and with the Sassoons of the Orient and with the Rothschilds and Warburgs of Europe in another theme song . . . 'Our investments in India, Africa, and Europe must be preserved. Save democracy!' "

It is becoming increasingly difficult to believe that the resemblance of such remarks to the ranting of Father Coughlin is wholly coincidental. A prominent New Dealer recently told me that when he was at the Senator's home a year ago a telephone call came in from the Detroit priest and that the conversation was long and friendly, though the Senator, after it was over, seemed somewhat embarrassed. Even more disturbing to one who wishes to believe that the Senator's recent tone is due to a temporary hysteria and not a considered position was the conversation I had with Mrs. Wheeler, who is said to exert a strong influence over her husband. The Senator, she said, was in her opinion much too tolerant of the Jews, often defending them unjustifiably in conversations in the Wheeler home. She also told me that she thought the Jews were 100 per cent for the lease-lend bill and agreed to except only one Jew—an aide of her husband's—from her sweeping allegation.

Voltaire said if there were no God, we should have to invent one. If there were no Jews, Hitler would have to invent some. In the past Senator Reynolds of North Carolina—whose "courage and ability" are praised by Senator Wheeler on page A 887 of the *Congressional Record* for February 25—was the only member of the upper House to show the benefits of the Third Reich's higher learning. Senator Holman of Oregon seems to have joined the happy little band. He was Reynolds's stooge on the Senate Immigration Committee in the fight against the Wagner-Rogers Child Refugee bill and he would like to save American labor from the Wagner Act. He expressed himself in opposition to Nazism but thought Hitler ought to be given credit for breaking "the control of the international bankers and traders over the rewards for the labor of the common people of Germany." Not in the same class with Wheeler, Reynolds, and Holman but in strange company lately is Senator Nye. The Senator seems to have been too busy doing research into the misdeeds of the British to catch up with those of the Third Reich. He is strongly opposed to aiding the "despotic" British Empire, but spoke at a Gerald L. K. Smith mass meeting in Detroit recently—rather odd auspices for so fervent a democrat.

We have our own Cliveden set, and its outlines became clearer during the lease-lend debate. Most of those who opposed the bill did so from considerations whose weight cannot be denied, however much one may disagree with them, and their patriotism cannot be questioned. But there was also a minority of appeasers, pro-Hitlerites, and a few native fascists who have begun to develop a vested interest in defeat, for it is only in the event of a British or Anglo-American reverse that they can hope to take power. Their anxiety is to "make the record clear"; their strategy is to inherit power in a debacle. A little anti-Semitism fits in with their plans. Their chief campaigning grounds will be in the isolationist farm belt; all Senators from Kansas, Wisconsin, North Dakota, Idaho, and Colorado voted against the lease-lend bill and one each from South Dakota, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, Michigan, and Ohio. The states of the Far West and all the states of New England but Maine cast one vote against lease-lend. Only Senator Reynolds from the South and "Puddler Jim" Davis from the industrial East voted against the bill. These sectional differences are likely to grow less as new victories bring the Nazis closer.

The appeasers, and their allies, have lost the battle against the lease-lend bill but intend to fight the President every step of the way as he puts it into effect. The bill itself authorizes the expenditure of but $1,300,000,000, and it will soon be necessary to ask for more. The Administration's first concern under the bill will be how to get war materials to the British, and there will probably be a fight in Congress over that as well. Convoys of American sub-chasers—the Canadians have found these small fast boats effective for the purpose—may be used to escort shipping part way across the Atlantic, not into the war zone itself but perhaps to the Azores. Long-range bombers may also be used for this purpose. More shipping may be transferred to the British, for they will need it badly, and we may soon see a heavier burden thrown upon our railroads, with freight priorities and probably government operation as in the last war. All this will coincide with a speaking tour by Wheeler, and there are reports that John L. Lewis will go back into action with a series of speeches, starting with the "shrunken bellies" and winding up with an attack on aid to Britain.

These sour reflections aside, there is more hope now for energetic action on all-out aid than ever before. Harrry Hopkins has been working for the past two weeks on plans to put the lease-lend bill into effect. The Bureau of the Budget is drawing up suggestions for a new organization of defense which will largely supersede the present set-up. The real problem, of course, is personnel, but a change in organization provides an excuse for a shake-up. Other plans are being presented to the President. The chances grow stronger that Justice Douglas will step down from the Supreme Court to become top executive of defense. It looks as though Tom Corcoran, whose energy, devotion, and enthusiasm have too long been left idle, will share direction of aircraft production with Robert Lovett. The pair of them can be trusted to see the possible uses of idle automotive equipment a good deal more clearly than Mr. Knudsen.

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Yugoslavia Yields

BY R. H. MARKHAM

ADOLF HITLER has the Balkan states where he wants them. He intensified their mutual animosities, isolated them from each other, and picked them off one at a time. In fact, he hardly had to pick them at all—they just fell into his lap. Each in its turn. Now it's Yugoslavia's turn.

In each case, the Nazi Fuehrer used a special kind of squeeze. Or rather, he took advantage of a squeeze that already existed. History put a strong noose about each Balkan state, and all Hitler had to do was pull it. Pulling Yugoslavia's noose has been easiest of all. Not only is that state almost completely surrounded by Axis armies, but within it, also, are many internal Axis agents, while the Yugoslav masses, opposing the Axis, are not united among themselves.

The name Yugoslavia means South Slavia and designates the land of the South Slavs. Nearly two-fifths of all the inhabitants of Europe are Slavs. They are all marked by common traits, but are also divided into many units, widely differing one from another. In their early history they wandered over much of the continent and eventually three groups of them settled in the mountains east of the Adriatic Sea. Two of these, the Serbs and the Croatians, speak languages that are as nearly identical as English and American. The third language, that of the Slovenes, is as near Serbo-Croatian as Spanish is to Portuguese. However, even though these closely related Slav peoples lived side by side in the Balkan Peninsula for a full millenium they never formed a common state until December, 1918, after the first World War, when they created the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croatians and Slovenes (Yugoslavia). It was natural that after so many centuries of separation, they should find themselves faced with an extremely difficult task of consolidation and unification.

The country now embraced in Yugoslavia has always been marked by conflicts of extreme violence. There lay the chasm separating the Eastern Church from the Western, there Europe met Asia, there the cross clashed with the crescent, there Hapsburg fought Sultans. Those ferocious struggles left flaming fires of enmity in South Slav hearts. So, when these groups joined with one another in a free state of their own, they had to quench very persistent hatreds.

The twenty-two years that have pased since have not proved a long enough period for that. During this time Serbs and Croatians opposed one another with violence and fury. The Serbs shot Stephen Raditch and many other noted Croatian leaders. They also threw hundreds and thousands of humbler Croatians into prison. On the other side, a Croatian revolutionary organization brought about the murder of the Serbian king, Alexander. Shots were fired in Parliament, shots were fired at the throne. The Yugoslavs passionately killed each other. The Croatians repeatedly threatened to secede from the new kingdom and form a state of their own.

A year and a half ago, a reconciliation was effected, a large degree of autonomy was given to the Croatians, a plan was adopted for redressing their worst grievances, and an all-Yugoslav government was formed with Serbs, Croatians, and Slovenes heartily cooperating. It was a decisive step forward, but even that could not at once create complete trust. The South Slavs, still mindful of centuries-old hatreds among themselves, are not able to face their enemies with any real unity. Each group still fears that the others may let it down.

Prince Paul, Regent

Another matter of extreme importance is the fact that more than two million inhabitants of Yugoslavia do not belong to any of these three South Slav groupings. There are, for instance, half a million Germans permanently living in Yugoslavia. Most of them—especially the young men—are ardent and aggressive Nazis. Their loyalty is to Berlin and they take orders from there. Like the Germans of the Sudetenland, they are the vanguard of the Nazi army. They would like to help destroy Yugoslavia in order that large parts of it could be annexed to the Reich.

In addition, there are half a million permanent Hungarian residents in Yugoslavia. Most of them inhabit areas contiguous with Hungary. Many of them feel unreservedly bound to Budapest and would like to have their cities, towns, and counties restored to the "motherland." Though they are Yugoslav subjects, they would come eagerly to the aid of Hungary in a war against Yugoslavia.

Besides these groups, there are about two-thirds of a

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million Macedonians, who do not feel at home in Yugoslavia and whom the Bulgarians claim as their own. Many of these Macedonians would like to be liberated from "the Yugoslav yoke." Finally, there are at least two-thirds of a million Albanians in Yugoslavia, who see no reason to sacrifice their lives for a South Slav army commander or a South Slav government. All these powerful destructive forces of foreign racial origins among the South Slavs might well prove the fatal factor in a time of crisis for the Yugoslav state.

Further, it should be noted that some of the South Slavs themselves, both Serbs and Croatians, are Nazis. A number of educated, organized, and revolutionary Croatian separatists are as fanatically authoritarian as German storm troopers. They would join the devil, if thereby they could take vengeance on the Serbs, and they are very adept in using bombs and guns. These Croatians would cooperate with the most desperate local Germans in opening the gates of all citadels to Hitler's invaders—and the Serb Nazis would likewise help Hitler destroy their own state. There are not many such Quislingovitches, but they are dangerous.

Finally, there is no strong king to curb all this dissension and rally the loyal forces. Yugoslavia is ruled by three regents in the name of a boy sovereign, whose father was assassinated six years ago. Prince Paul, the chief regent, is a very cautious man.

The German army, disengaged in both the west and the east, is free to throw its full force against the South Slav kingdom and there are no strong natural barriers to prevent its advance. As it swept in with tanks and stukas, it would be welcomed by local Germans scattering flowers, waving swastikas, and shrieking "Hail, Victory!" It could reduce Zagreb and Belgrade to Coventries in two days if Yugoslavia were to resist.

Side by side with the Nazi invaders would march the armies of Hungary, another member of the Axis. For twenty years the Hungarians have been shouting with all their might, "Everything back! Everything back!" Now that cry is reaching the fury of a tempest. Hungarian soldiers have whetted their swords and are restless to swoop down the Danube valley, charge across plains as level as a floor, and reoccupy Yugoslav areas which all Hungarians consider an inalienable part of the millennial kingdom of St. Stephen. That king's Magyar crown is considered holy by Hungarians, and some of its choicest jewels, Subotitsa, Voivodina, Bachka, and Croatia, are all now in Yugoslavia. For two decades these jewels have been absent from the crown, for two decades Hungarian flags have drooped sadly at half mast, and a sorrowing statue has stood in Freedom Square in Budapest pointing dramatically in the direction of the lost southern provinces.

Now the moment of restitution seems to be near, and if Yugoslavia should defy the Axis, Hungarian soldiers would plunge into a "war of liberation" beside German Nazis. These avid enemies would cut as a freshly sharpened scythe through all the wheat fields of northern Yugoslavia.

On the east, too, Bulgarian soldiers, shouting songs of vengeance and battle cries of restoration to give added force to their gleaming bayonets, would join the onslaught against Yugoslavia. In 1913, Bulgarian soldiers attacked along that line and were driven back. In 1915, when Serbia was hard pressed by huge Austrian armies, Bulgarian soldiers again attacked, poured over Serbia's borders along its whole length, drove the Serbs into Albania, and pushed the British-French armies into Salonika. Then in 1918 the Greeks and Serbs drove the Bulgarians back and out, ending the World War, and retaining not only most of Macedonia but even parts of old Bulgaria. Now if Yugoslavia should refuse Axis demands, Bulgarians, with a fury nursed by their twenty-two years of humiliation, would make every effort to settle those old accounts.

That is the sword of Damocles that Hitler has held over Yugoslavia's head all winter. And beside it has dangled another weapon—Salonika. The Nazi Fuehrer has warned Belgrade that even if the general assault on Yugoslavia were postponed, Greece would be smashed, and Bulgaria might get Salonika as its reward. Bulgaria's possession of that port would be as disastrous for Yugoslavia as Germany's possession of Ireland would be for Great Britain.

And Hitler has slyly added, "But if you Yugoslavs come with the Axis it is possible that you'll be the ones to get Salonika."

Rarely was a state in a more helpless position. The Axis on the east, the Axis on the west, the Axis on the north volleyed and thundered, as only Hitler and Mussolini can thunder. Hungarian students marched on Budapest's boulevards, shouting, "Everything back!" Bulgarian students paraded in Sofia's squares, crying, "Macedonia back!" Croatian separatists threw bombs before the British consulates in Zagreb and scattered leaflets demanding "Down with Yugoslavia." Russia, the traditional protector of the little Balkan peoples, was weak and frightened. And terrific Nazi forces stationed at the German border only seventy miles away from Salonika crouched for a *Blitz* charge against Greece. No possible help from any source was available. England was almost beleaguered. American Senators were spending days and weeks in repetitious declamations, holding up action and darkening hopes. What could Yugoslavia do? What would any ruler in Prince Paul's place have done? He had to choose between an at least temporary break-up of his unstable kingdom and leading his state into the darkness of political and economic slavery. He is not the first to whom life imprisonment

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has seemed preferable to immediate execution. Maybe there will come a day for the opening of prison gates, he thinks.

Now Hitler nears the end of his spring training in the Balkans, and prepares for the season's real contest. The winter is over, spring has come, the Danube ice breaks up and floats downstream, the time for action has arrived. And Hitler, when he acts, moves with terrible swiftness.

Practically all southeast Europe has fallen through squeeze plays, almost without the firing of a gun. Bismarck declared the Balkans weren't worth the bones of a German soldier; Hitler has got them almost without sacrificing a soldier. He squeezed Czechoslovakia to pieces and marched into Prague; he lured the chauvinistic Magyars into subjection and stole into Budapest; he let Russia terrify Rumania and was summoned to Bucharest as a savior; he huffed and he puffed until Bulgaria's gates blew away and then rode over the Balkan mountains into Sofia. Yugoslavia had no choice.

To pretend that this easy conquest of the Balkans isn't a terrible blow to the cause of freedom, would be very shortsighted. Attempts to explain it away are like weak alibis. Hitlerism is marching on, with destruction as terrible as that of ancient conquerors. When the Turkish sultans, more than half a millennium ago swept into the Balkans, that was a world disaster. And they did not depart for five full centuries. No local power could drive them out. Nor will any local Balkan power be able to throw off the new Nazi yoke.

When Germans press into the southeast, they usually stay. Hapsburg emperors settled them in Hungary, Transylvania, the Banat, Bessarabia, and they are still there. They settled Germans in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and they are still there. Now Hitler has taken Germans even further down the Danube and he plans that they shall remain there.

This is barely the beginning of Hitler's spring, a preliminary for his real fight. The operations of 1941 have just opened. The Balkan mountain passes are all roads to other places, to Asia and Africa. Hitler is moving out over the trails that have often led to the conquest of continents. Only those people who are asleep can fail to see that he has begun a march which he expects, before this year ends, will place world dominion within his grasp. Budapest, Bucharest, Belgrade, Sofia are stations on a through route that Hitler believes will lead to the ends of the earth.

Chemicals for War

BY JACK SCHUYLER

WITHOUT chemical products in adequate quantities, no effective defense program would be possible. The products of the chemical industry are needed for every basic industry and, directly or indirectly, for every article of commerce. Agriculture needs chemical fertilizers and insecticides; the textile industry needs bleaching materials and dyes. Transportation, communication, medicine, the electro-chemical industry, and even the arts—all must have chemical supplies.

Yet very little is written of the importance of the chemical industry. Generally speaking, the large chemical corporations employ public relations men, not to gain public good will, but to keep information out of print. Logically so, for the industry touches the consumer at comparatively few points.

Today the United States has one of the most powerful chemical industries in the world, producing a wide variety of both heavy chemicals and synthetic organic compounds, ranging from dyes to explosives. The industry could be expanded to meet our war-time needs. It already meets the peace-time demand and has something left over for export to other countries.

The national defense program will stimulate not only the manufacture of explosives but that of a thousand and one chemicals. Chemicals are used to treat steel and metals, and are also used in the leather, coal products, rubber, shipbuilding, and aircraft industries. Sulphuric acid has been called the "pig iron" of the chemical industry. It is certainly important in all kinds of products incidental to defense. It is required for the making of military explosives; for pickling iron and steel; for the manufacture of high-grade aviation gasoline, and so on.

Coal, air, salt, and sulphur are the four basic materials used for the manufacture of most of the chemical substances necessary for national defense—and for peace-time industries. When coal is heated in an air-tight chamber, it gives off illuminating gas, coke, and tarry vapors. From the tarry vapors comes coal tar, which is treated and distilled to yield products that are the main base of a large part of our synthetic organic chemical industry: toluene, necessary for the production of both T. N. T. and dyes; phenol, essential to the manufacture of explosives and plastics; picric acid, vital to the making of explosives, poison gases, and dyes; aniline, basic to the production of poison gases, dyes, and medicinal supplies —all are derived from coal tar.

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The next essential raw material for chemical warfare and peace-time industry is air, the very air we breathe. By various processes, ammonia produced from air is used to make both fertilizers and refrigerants. Nitric acid, made from ammonia, is essential to the manufacture of nitroglycerine and other explosives, dyestuffs, plastics, artificial leather, and fertilizers.

Salt is used to make caustic soda and chlorine. The rayon, soap, and petroleum refining industries are all dependent upon caustic soda. Chlorine is important as a water-purifier, disinfectant, bleaching agent, and in the making of war gases.

Sulphur is basic to the manufacture of certain explosives, each pound of which requires two pounds of sulphuric acid. Sulphur is also used as a vulcanizer in the rubber industry and to make sulphur dioxide, a bleaching agent in its own right but more important as the basis for the manufacture of sulphuric acid, vital in oil refineries, explosives manufacture, metal pickling, and dye making.

The chemical industry is well organized to contribute its share to the national defense program. Almost two years ago several committees were set up by the Army and Navy Board to make a series of surveys of the chemical needs of the military program. Long before that, the Chemical Warfare Service established its own procurement program on a comparable basis. Five geographical districts were organized, each with advisory boards made up of from eight to fifteen leading industrialists. Educational orders, that is, small orders giving the producer a chance to work out the problems arising in a shift from peace-time to war-time goods, were placed for gas masks and related equipment, and a chemical defense program was outlined.

The chemical industry is not a munitions industry and has not made munitions since the first World War. It does make enormous amounts of chemicals for peace-time markets. However, these chemicals can be made into explosives just as steel can be made into guns. The making of military explosives in the United States calls for new plant capacity, now being built to the tune of $50,000,000 or more, plants to be run for the government by chemical companies.

Meanwhile, the industry holds itself able to supply the vastly greater demands consequent on the stepping up of the defense program. For last year, when production of chemicals of virtually every sort was at the highest level on record, plant expansion not only kept pace with the increased demand but anticipated, in part, added requirements of this and future years. In the first eleven months of 1940 contracts for new plants amounted to $142,159,000, and construction of plants reached a new high in the same year. One synthetic phenol plant, six synthetic rubber plants, three aluminum plants, one bromine plant, and one magnesium plant were built by private industry. Government money built three smokeless-powder plants, two T. N. T. plants, one ammonia plant, one toluene plant, and one ammonium nitrate plant.

The present crisis therefore finds the chemical industry in a far better position than that of 1914. At that time our chemical industry, enormous as it was, lacked coal-tar chemical plants and was pitifully dependent on Chile for nitrates and on Germany for potash. We have since discovered and developed sources of potash in California and New Mexico that are ample for all our needs.

In 1914 only 10 per cent of the dyes consumed in the United States were made here. During the subsequent war years the textile industry, the medical profession, the photographic industry and scores of others became acutely aware that the most vital of their raw materials came from abroad and that these sources of supply had been cut off. When the German submarine Deutschland appeared in Newport harbor we were startled but also jubilant. The submarine had run the English blockade with a cargo of coal dyes and other then rare and scarce chemical products. These were bought for fantastic prices.

Domestic chemical manufacturers rose to the first World War emergency and spent millions of dollars in research and experimentation. Today, after less than twenty-five years, America has a dye industry second to none, whose products equal any produced by other nations. It no longer follows, but leads the way.

The American dye industry is a key industry. Not only does it provide color for many materials—textiles, leather, and even paper—but continuous research in it gives to our physicians and hospitals countless new products in the drug and medical field.

The establishment of this self-contained synthetic organic chemical industry at last emancipated our research, our medicine, our agriculture, and our industries from the domination of the German chemical trust.

All the basic raw materials for chemical warfare are used in the making of dyes. So closely is the making of dyes connected with the manufacture of war gases and explosives that most of the dye plants need only to be enlarged, and many of them require no new technics in order to manufacture war gases. Moreover, men trained in dye manufacture are men who can easily be shifted to the manufacture of explosives.

Chemical engineers will play an important role in industrial mobilization for national defense. Products of their ingenuity are, for the most part, products even more essential in war than in peace. The list of essential chemicals required in large amounts by the army and navy for the manufacture of explosives and war-agents is a considerable one. Included in it are acetic acid, wood alcohol, nitric acid, acetone, benzol, caustic soda, chlorine, grain

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alcohol, hydrochloric acid, phenol, picric acid, potash, soda ash, sulphuric acid, and toluene. The bulk of these chemicals go into the manufacture of explosives of various sorts.

The methane of natural gas, crude petroleum, alcohol from the fermentation of molasses or potatoes, sugars, coal tar, and sulphur are all raw materials used in the manufacture of explosives and are quite plentiful in this country.

One of the primary raw materials for the manufacture of high explosives is glycerine. During the first World War this basic material was obtainable only from animal fats, and its scarcity is supposed to have contributed to the defeat of Germany. We are no longer dependent on animal fats for our supply of glycerine since we are now able to synthesize this organic substance from coal-tar derivatives or from gases obtainable from crude petroleum.

Practically all modern explosives are mixtures of nitrated organic compounds which require the use of sulphuric and nitric acids in their manufacture. Ammonia is necessary for the making of ammonium nitrate, which is likely to be most widely used in high explosives, and into ammonium picrate, used in armor-piercing projectiles because of its insensitive character. Acetone, acetic acid, and the alcohols are used as solvents for smokeless powder. Chlorine is the basic raw material used in the synthesis of most chemical war-agents such as mustard gas and chlorpicrin. Toluene is used not only for the manufacture of T. N. T., but for other, less widely known kinds of explosive.

The chemical industry is remarkable for the way it has substituted synthetic for natural products. The plastics industry, of which the United States possesses one of the largest in the world, is essential for the production of material for telephones, telephonic equipment, electrical devices, switches, auto parts, spectacles, photographic film, safety glass, wire insulation, radios, refrigerator parts, surgical instruments and sutures, aircraft, cockpit windows in military airplanes, gun parts, gas-mask lenses, and other parts. The chief raw materials, of which we possess an abundance, are derived from such substances as air, water, coal, petroleum, salt, sulphur, cellulose, and limestone.

DuPont synthetic coatings, Duco and Dulux, are used and needed in the airplane and automobile industries. DuPont also produces the glass-clear plastic, Lucite, used for windows in airplanes.

Efforts to discover substitutes for vital imported materials and to develop products formerly imported from countries now occupied by the Nazis, were highlights of industrial research in 1940. The chemical industry has relieved us of dependence upon foreign sources of supply for some important raw materials—rubber, particularly. In addition to the normal demand of 600,000 tons a year, our preparedness program calls for mechanized instruments of warfare for land, sea, and air in which rubber is an essential material. Various synthetic rubbers—neoprene, buna, Ameripol, chemigum, thiokel and koroseal—are the more important synthetic rubbers now produced in the United States. Production of these synthetic rubbers will probably reach a total of 15,000 tons this year.

Charcoal made from coconut shells is used for gas masks. Almost our entire supply comes from the Philippines. An adequate substitute has been developed from sawdust, coal, and hardwood charcoal, and we are no longer dependent upon a foreign source for this most important material in our defense program. Contracts for gas-mask charcoal made by this new process, as well as other chemicals used in gas-defensive appliances and amounting to about $10 million, have been closed or are being negotiated. In warfare silk is used for parachutes. Practically all our raw silk comes from Japan. A wholly satisfactory substitute, nylon, is now available for parachute manufacture. Synthetic resin enamels are being used instead of tin for coating certain types of cans, lessening our needs for imported tin. Chemically coated cardboard containers have also to some extent taken the place of tin cans. Toluene, basic ingredient in the manufacture of T. N. T. and important in the making of dyes, drugs, lacquers, varnishes, and enamels, comes largely from by-product coke ovens. But methods of obtaining it from petroleum have recently been developed, and in 1940 the Shell Oil Company opened a plant at Houston, Texas, which will produce 2 million gallons annually.

Our organic chemical industry can produce all the explosives, dyes, drugs, photographic chemicals, rayon, and plastic materials which this nation might need in war. Other large-scale chemicals which are produced synthetically are wood alcohol, camphor, and tanning materials. Glycerine is now produced synthetically. Today we obtain our iodine from our own brine wells in California instead of importing it from Chile. We have looked to other countries for much of our paper, but the South is now doing its bit to displace this dependency. Our industry can supply all of the various kinds of war gases—lung irritants, lachrymators, vesicants, and toxic smokes.

The chemist's contribution to warfare is more than that of supplying explosives, war gases, and flame-throwers. The airplane, tank, ship, and submarine have been brought to their present state of perfection by the combined efforts of the chemist and physicist. The defense leaders look to these scientists to produce new materials of construction, new fuels, better lubricants, and improved instruments. Greater speed in airplanes, more powerful fuels, more destructive explosives—and better drugs to restore the wounded soldier—are problems to be solved through scientific research.

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Turkish Dilemma

BY PETER STEVENS

Istanbul, February 17

THIS is written on the Bosphorus in mid-February and the new Bulgarian pact with Turkey has just been announced. No doubt before this article reaches America the full meaning of the treaty will be clear. There are several schools of thought here regarding the immediate future; it may be revealing to know what they are:

There are the case-hardened cynics who feel that we are in the first stages of the great "sell-out" which will proceed in the pattern already set by Germany in Rumania. The Turks, they argue, are in desperate need of supplies; England has been unable to carry out the economic accord of early December, 1940; with Turkish shops nearly bare, the Turks must keep the Balkan route open to receive from Germany and Italy the necessities which they themselves cannot manufacture. Take, for example, transportation in Istanbul: one by one the street cars are being withdrawn from service. England can send neither replacements nor parts, and the Turks cannot go on hanging like grapes from overcrowded cars.

President Inonu

The net effect of Turkish neutrality, argue the cynics, will be the protection of the left flank of the German army as it moves down across Bulgaria to annihilate Greece before General Wavell is free to send any real reinforcements. Turkey on its side, will gain peace, manufactured goods from Germany, and a ready market for her agricultural surplus.

The Turkish treaty with England called for "all possible aid" to England if it were involved in hostilities over its guarantee to Greece. The cynics smile and say, "Turkey did not move on October 28 when England was involved in hostilities in Greece and Albania over its guarantees to Greece. It never intended to. It won't now." These people, and some of them are Turks, like to end their argument with the quotation from *Time*, which is so well known here, to the effect that Turkey "will stay bought only so long as England continues to pay."

Then there are the Friday-night quarterbacks and armchair strategists who say that Turkey will aid the Greeks and has made an arrangement with Bulgaria whereby the latter will protect the Turkish border from Adrianople to the Black Sea, while the Turks send aid to Greece through Thrace. These people have no answer to the obvious question of whether the Germans will allow Bulgaria, once they have occupied it, to tell them where and how they may move their troops. It is a weak argument put forward by those Turks who hate to swallow their boasts about what they would do to the Bulgarians and the Germans, if the former allowed so much as one German in uniform to come into the country.

Finally there is the British interpretation which here and at this time sounds like whistling in the dark. It says that Turkey has merely "restated" her amicable intentions toward Bulgaria and that Bulgaria has promised Turkey it will not aid the Germans in a possible attack on the Bosphorus and Turkish Thrace. "This treaty," the British say, "has not affected British-Turkish treaty relations." Turkey has promised England all aid if Germany attacks Greece, and they add, "No doubt the outcome of the recent Anglo-Turkish staff talks in Ankara was a decision that Turkey could best help by holding its Tracian border."

Now each of these points of view has obvious holes in its logic. The hole in the first is to be found in Turkish public opinion. It is perfectly true that there is no independent press in Turkey, let alone any opposition press; it is equally true that the government makes and remakes public opinion through its orders to the press. But it would be most foolish of Turkey—and the Turks in authority are neither ignorant nor foolish—to change sides so suddenly and at the end of a long violent anti-New Order and pro-British press campaign. The government radio and press have convinced all Turkey that Germans and Italians are evil and that Britain is good; that the Axis must inevitably lose this war and that England cannot lose it. It will take a long and delicate campaign to change the Turks who have a deep-seated dislike for the Germans and Italians.

The second argument, that Turkey is playing a very clever military trick on the Germans, is patently ridiculous. One has only to look at the map and to know the pitiful state of the Turkish army to dismiss it as absurd.

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The third one may have some truth in it; but its inevitable conclusion that the best help is no help and that the way to save Greece is to abandon her, is difficult of acceptance.

I think that the best explanation is one which does not altogether contradict the third argument. I think that the Turks are desperately short of all sorts of war material and that they are playing for time in the belief that Britain will send via Busrah-Bagdad, or through an Italian-free Mediterranean, a generous share of American supplies and help. The Bulgarian-Turkish treaty is the best means through which to freeze the *status quo* here until Turkey is ready. This theory would also account for the persistent rumor that Turkey recently refused an offer from Yugoslavia to make a joint statement that any occupation of Bulgaria would be considered an act of war.

It is also possible that the Turks would look on a German occupation of Bulgaria as releasing them from the commitments under this new treaty. There are an endless array of possible explanations; but unless the British are very good actors, they are not disturbed much by this move. For this reason I am inclined to think that the best explanation is that Turkey is playing for time to accumulate mechanized equipment and to acquire some aerial defense for defenseless Istanbul, which is built mostly of wood and so is peculiarly vulnerable to incendiary attack.

One thing is certain, no treaty can make Turks love Bulgars or Bulgars trust Turks.

Putsch in Java

BY GEORGE PEPPER

FEW people realize that Java, in the remote Dutch East Indies, was the scene of a coordinated Nazi plot to seize power in those islands as early as last spring. Not many more even knew where the islands were until Cordell Hull's sharp notes to Japan catapulted them into the limelight. The world's suicidal struggle has done more for geographic knowledge, if for nothing else, than all the atlases printed since the first world war, and today we know that this group, aside from seductive Bali, contains vast natural resources. Borneo's rich oil fields; Sumatra's rubber; 97 per cent of the world's quinine; tea, coffee, tobacco, sugar, tin, copper, gold, and iron—all these make the East Indies a prey of aggressor nations.

When Hitler stunned the world by invading Holland last May all eyes turned to that tragic scene. Few stopped at the moment to wonder about its island colonies out in the remote southeastern Pacific, colonies that felt safeguarded by the British navy and American diplomacy. Counting on this false sense of security and the confusion their latest offensive had created, the Nazis naturally prepared to seize them; yet a few hours after Holland was invaded every German and every Nazi sympathizer in the Dutch East Indies was under arrest. The story behind the plot's failure must be recorded as an odd twist of fate.

For an understanding of why the German coup nearly came off, it is well to realize that there have always been a good many German residents in the Indies. They were splendid colonists, assiduous workers, keen business men, and, having lived in the Indies for several decades, they held many key positions in the colonial government. Last year saw many new arrivals at the German colony there. Some carried Dutch passports; others wished to settle permanently for business reasons; and still others claimed to be "refugees" from Nazi terror. The Dutch Colonial Government, always tolerant once the head-tax fees have been collected, pocketed the new revenue and continued to dream of fresh profits from coffee, rubber, and tobacco. The newcomers wasted no time dreaming, but set to work undermining the entire governmental structure. Dutch Nazis were contacted and employed; Germans in high offices were ready at a moment's notice to sabotage any coordinated effort to resist; the long suppressed nationalist movement in Java was geared to rebellion, and munitions appeared from nowhere to be placed in secret caches or stored in private homes. As usual, the web had its spider in the form of German consular offices. There a certain Baron von Plesson grasped diplomatic respectability with his right hand, and with his left managed a tangle of underground activity. A suave handsome man, long known in the Indies as a sportsman, hunter, and ethnologist, he managed to steer an even course to the very last.

Time in the tropics usually has little significance. However, one must remember that Java time is a full day ahead of European time on the calendar, and May 10 in Germany was May 11 throughout the Indies. Action synchronizing with the German invasion of Holland had been planned, and when May 11 dawned over Java all strategic spots were covered by hidden machine-gun emplacements; well-known hotels were the sites of secret barricades, and all short-wave sending sets were in readiness to flash an instant order for the uprising. The cream of Dutch society had received cunning invitations for a party at the home of Baron von Plesson. There, according to the Nazi scheme, they were to be confronted by a *fait accompli*. The one remaining question was: at what moment will the order to strike come from Berlin? Advance information led the plotters to believe that Hitler would choose May 12 (Java time). Perhaps it was a miscalculation that caused him to move one full day sooner.

Batavia, the chief city of Java, has a large, modern post office. On the morning of May 11, the postmaster was away and an obscure subordinate was in charge. A lengthy cable from Berlin addressed to the German

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Consul-General passed across the acting postmaster's desk. Well aware of the cable's diplomatic immunity, he hesitated to have it decoded, but nevertheless felt uneasy, and he decided to withhold delivery until the postmaster returned—although the Nazi consular offices twice sent anxious inquiries by messenger asking for mail. When the door closed on a third messenger, this alert Dutch clerk called the military in order to have the cable decoded. Once decoded, the entire conspiracy lay before the authorities. They read orders for an immediate uprising throughout the Indies, orders calling for the cooperation of some twenty-three German ships lying in the neutral waters of Java, and finally, an order calling for the utmost speed and precision in attaining all "planned objectives." The last order was further elucidated by the statement: "Germany will invade Holland in three hours. Der Fuehrer expects news of your success before that time."

The authorities immediately informed the Governor-General. He issued an order for the instant arrest of every German, regardless of age or position, and further cautioned those who knew not to divulge the fact that an invasion of Holland was imminent. Within two hours all arrests had been made, all German ships seized, and Dutch citizens with known Nazi sympathies were being arrested. By this time the first news of Germany's move on Holland began reaching the outside world—news withheld by the Governor until every arrest had been made. It was late afternoon before he made a radio address telling of Holland's great tragedy. He also described the last-minute rescue of the Indies and praised the obscure clerk whose intelligence had made this possible.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

German Oil Supplies

IN THE last war it was once said, "the Allies floated to victory on a wave of oil" and there can be no doubt that in the present conflict oil will prove one of the decisive factors. Operations by land, air, and sea are all absolutely dependent on a constant supply of oil products, while for the industries which lie behind the fronts it is also a vital necessity, particularly in the form of lubricants. But Europe's own resources in oil are very limited and, excluding Russia, Rumania is the only producer of importance. Rumania in 1938, however, was able to furnish only about one-ninth of Europe's import requirements or about 4 million tons out of 36 millions. The balance had to be brought by sea either from this hemisphere or from east of Suez, and from these sources Germany and the countries it dominates are now, of course, entirely cut off.

Britain, on the other hand, can obtain all it is able to convoy through the German counter-blockade, for in both America and Asia there is a surplus rather than a shortage of oil. Nor, in spite of Hitler's submarines and bombers, is there any lack, at present, of tankers to carry it. Britain and its Allies control at least 50 per cent of the tanker tonnage of the world, or considerably more than was employed in prewar days to fill British needs. Another British advantage is the proximity of oilfields it controls to the Near Eastern war area. Its forces in North Africa and Greece can draw on the refineries at Haifa, the terminus of the pipeline from the Irak fields, and additional supplies can be shipped from southern Iran. Haifa, of course, is somewhat exposed to air attack and has been bombed several times, but the Irak and Iran oil districts are beyond the range of effective raiding.

Consider, in contrast, Italy's problem in fueling its North African army. It has practically no domestic supplies, and its Albanian oilfield, always a very minor affair, has probably been closed down by British and Greek bombings. Aside from reserves, its only resource is import from Rumania, which involves a long overland haul to Italian ports. There it must be loaded on tankers to run the gantlet of the British navy to Tripoli. There is good reason to believe that not the least of the causes of Graziani's collapse in the Libyan campaign was insufficient supplies of oil.

Germany is far better off than its partner in the matter of oil supplies, yet this question must be among the constant worries of the Nazi war-lords. Before the war the annual oil consumption of Greater Germany and the occupied countries of Western Europe is estimated to have been around 17 million tons, of which German military and industrial requirements amounted to 6 million tons. From the very beginning of the war civilian consumption of gasoline was severely restricted in Germany, as in all other belligerent countries, and the conquered areas are of course even more tightly rationed. But the internal-combustion engine has become so integrated with modern economic life that its use cannot be banned altogether without industrial consequences that Germany cannot face. It needs the factories of the defeated countries and so must supply them with some means of transport as well as with lubricants for their machinery. Taking such factors into account, it has been estimated that the strictly civil requirements of the territory Germany controls amount to 5 million tons of oil annually. Thus, since the army can hardly be using less than it used in peacetime, it must find by one means or another a minimum total of around 11 million tons annually.

Germany has long been working frantically to increase production of synthetic oils. We have no exact figures of the supplies available from this source, but in 1939 output is believed to have been about one and one-half million tons, and new plants coming into operation last year may have added another half million. There are also a few small oilfields yielding some 750,000 tons, while benzol and fuel alcohol production might supply the equivalent of an additional one million tons. In all, then, domestic sources, according to these figures, which I owe to Maurice Seldman, would supply something under 4 million tons. Another estimate, this one by E. M. Friedwald, the French petroleum authority, quoted in the New York *Times* of December 22 last, places the total at 4,280,000 tons.

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How far these figures have been affected by British air raids we cannot tell. We know only that oil refineries and synthetic plants have been among the targets most frequently assigned to the RAF, and it is impossible to believe that all their bombs "fell in the fields." On the other hand, Germany is no doubt continuing to add to its productive capacity, building plants as nearly out of range of the British planes as possible. Thus a hydrogenation plant capable of processing 5 million tons of coal annually is reported under construction at Brux in the Sudetenland.

Making every possible allowance, it seems certain that Germany must obtain more than half its oil from Russia and Rumania or from reserves. The latter were no doubt very considerable at the outset of the war, and they have been swollen by the loot of the conquered countries, which had also laid in considerable stocks. Russia's total exports were not much over one million tons in 1939, and it is doubtful if Germany obtained as much from this source in 1940. The recent trade agreement provided for a total of one and one-half million tons in 1941, but the fulfilment of this undertaking depends on the ability of the Russian railroads to deliver.

Rumanian production today is completely under German control, and it amounts to the very considerable total of between 6 and 7 million tons. It is unlikely, however, that the Germans can get out anything like this amount. Three-quarters of Rumania's exports were normally shipped by sea and only about a million tons by rail or Danube barges. The Germans have made great efforts to supply additional tank-cars and river carriers, but with all the physical difficulties involved they will be doing well if they extract a total of 3 million tons from this source in the current year, and a part of this total will have to be spared to Italy.

One can only conclude that Germany cannot cover current needs for oil from current supplies, domestic and foreign, and consequently must eat all the time into reserves. How long these will hold out depends on the tempo of the war. This is one explanation of Hitler's patient effort to take the Balkans with terror tactics. For *Blitzkrieg* campaigns burn up gas in terrifying quantities and, if he is to attempt to invade Britain this year, or to drive through Asia Minor, he must economize this most vital of war materials.

In the Wind

BRITISH AGENTS: When the Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation went on strike, several agents of the British government were in town. They went immediately to the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and assured the men that they would do no business with Bethlehem until collective bargaining prevailed.

GREAT BRITAIN keeps 5,000 good military planes grounded, according to observers who have recently returned from England. They are to be used if and when the Nazis attempt an invasion. Military observers believe that, in case of an all-out attempt on Britain, many planes will be needed to fight off Nazi bombers, fire the English Channel, and bomb German invasion ports.

AT THE LAWYERS GUILD dinner in Washington a standing vote of applause was given to Justice Reed, one of the guests. Of those present only Carol King, attorney for Harry Bridges, refused to honor the liberal jurist.

COMMUNISM AS RELIGION: For several days after Earl Browder was sentenced to four years in prison, the *Daily Worker* published whole pages of letters protesting the decision. One of the letters said that even while the party chief was behind bars, ". . . whenever two comrades come together . . . Comrade Browder will be the third."

AND WHEN Robert Minor was appointed as Browder's successor, the *Daily Worker* printed a statement congratulating the party on its choice. That statement was signed by William Z. Foster—and Robert Minor.

FOR SEVERAL MONTHS the FBI has been investigating new employees in government agencies and key defense industries. Recently the investigators have been demanding that workers sign waivers permitting examination of their bank accounts, safety-deposit vaults, and personal papers.

THE CAMPAIGN for Liberty Bonds, although they will not be called that, is getting under way in Washington. It is under the direction of Harford Powel, an advertising executive, and Gail Johnstone, formerly a Metropolitan Life Insurance Company official.

CALIFORNIA has a new panacea group known as the Monetization of Food. The Food Dollar *vs.* The Gold Dollar is their slogan.

THE LORD HAW-HAW of Italy is Lt.-Col. Cecil Rocke. Before the war he was living in Italy on a British army pension. When his voice was heard over the Rome radio and his identity established, his pension was cut off. In the British "Who's Who" he is listed as having two recreations: "rearmament and anti-communism."

IN GENERAL KRIVITSKY'S last letter to his wife the press reported one sentence as "friends will help you but enemies will not." Photostatic copies of the suicide note show that what he really said was, "friends will help you, but enemies of the Soviet Union will not." The police, for reasons of their own, suppressed the reference to the Soviet Union.

FALSE RUMORS, apparently started in an effort to keep American money out of Canada, are spreading that food is being rationed there and that gasoline is selling for ninety cents a gallon and more. Canadian government officials assert that these stories have appreciably affected the tourist trade.

[*The $5 prize for the best item in February goes to* Mr. N. F., *927 Grant Avenue, Bronx, for his story about Jan Valtin, published on February* 8.]

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A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

$21-a-month Men

THEY put it in the papers so it must be news: William Martin, bachelor, New York City, thirty-four years old, will ask for no exemptions and take his turn when his number comes up in the draft. It is entirely incidental to the defense of America that he is also head of the New York Stock Exchange and gets $48,000 a year. Off somewhere in a camp in Jersey or Georgia, he will be giving up that big pay check and may be homesick for the West Side Tennis, Yale, Brooklyn Heights Casino, Island Court, and University Clubs. Of course, there are other young men, not getting $48,000 a year, who have also begun to make some little success, who are comfortable where they are, who have no desire to go soldiering, but are going with as much sacrifice and patriotism as William Martin is. William Martin is important, nevertheless. As a $21-a-month draftee he will be an example worth regarding, not by other young fellows pulled out of their jobs by the draft, but by those who belong to the same clubs and the same income-tax brackets and have become dollar-a-year men in Washington. I like $21-a-month William Martin better.

Some weeks ago I wrote about the return of the dollar-a-year men to Washington in a process which perhaps gave Washington the use of great talents but also set up again, in the process of defending democracy, the same sort of plutocratic patterns which helped make democracy very elegant when we defended it before. Since then Lord Halifax, serving without salary, has come over to the British embassy to give a sort of British approval to the plan. But there have been signs of less approval in Congress. Even some department heads have been apparently working as gently as possible to limit the legion of such well-to-do patriots as want place, not pay, in the exciting center of the land. Their number is still described as "a host." A writer in the Washington *Post* says that "dollar-a-year men, who have come to town to help with the defense program, are fighting for office space." Certainly you can see them resting from sacrifice in every fashionable bar in the capital. The ladies from the tool and steel towns are looking for houses and apartments and making bright paragraphs and comely pictures on the society pages. The hotels are so crowded that the Statler Hotel organization is pushing ahead with its plans for building the biggest new hotel yet to be seen in the city which has swollen along the beautifully landscaped swamps by the Potomac.

It gives me pleasure to contemplate William Martin across that scene. I think he makes a pleasanter spectacle than the cherry trees which will be blooming soon. He may be a gilded young man but, for the moment at least, he shines in a way to throw light on the questions: Why should a government which can pay millions for a battleship be interested in saving a few thousand dollars on the salary of a man? Why should such a man be or seem above taking those few thousand dollars for service, while William Martin looks like a patriot going to his soldier's pay?

Some of the dollar-a-year men in this crisis are rendering splendid service—as some did in the previous war. (No evidence has been presented that they would not have done just as well if they had been paid.) But once again, others, according to reports from Washington, have not hesitated in the midst of their charitable services also to sell goods to the government, exert pressure for their industries, even interfere with government monopoly action against a vast corporation—all from the inside. Even so, I do not think the dangers of crookedness in dollar-a-year clothing is so serious, serious as it might be, as the confusion and snobbery in a great national effort that might be the creation of a special class of gentlemen in office, who use their office space to look down on such men as have to be vulgar enough to take the government's pay for the same or better work.

If the government needs any man's service in a crisis, there should not be any question of its getting by, any more than there is any question about taking the youth and body of young William Martin or young John Jones. And in the defense of a democracy those services should be taken on a democratic basis—and the whole dollar-a-year system is a rejection of the idea of democracy in defense service. Fortunately this "short-of-war" time gives us opportunity to make our mistakes "short of war," if war is coming. But it may not give us much time to correct them. One mistake which can be corrected, and promptly, is this dollar-a-year foolishness. The process might not improve the parties at the Mayflower but it would help put a democratic spirit into the whole defense effort. If dollar-a-year men are good, put them on the payroll. If they are merely free, send them home. This is a crisis, not a party. Washington should be crowded by the best brains, not by the cheapest ones.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

"BUT I really mean it," insisted the man with the tired look about the eyes. "Even a great novelist has no right to write a book a thousand pages long!" His voice was tense, his face was drawn, he seemed on the point of tears. Presently he moved on and I heard him telling other people that long books are inexcusable. It was a one-man crusade. And no wonder; it turned out that he has one of those monstrous jobs—for a digest magazine—which requires a human being with only two eyes and one assimilating system to read half a dozen books a week and review them in ten lines each. That week the list included "The Thibaults."

Books are certainly getting longer and longer and though Martin du Gard, from all reports, has the "right" to fill a thousand pages, publishers tend to "bring out number, weight, and measure In a year of dearth"—to use Blake's scornful lines in a different connotation. But I have just finished one book which seems to me too short. It is "Kabloona" by Gontran de Poncins. (Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.) Kabloona is the Eskimo word for white man, and the book is the account of fifteen months spent in the Canadian Arctic. It is one of those rare travel books, like Osbert Sitwell's "Escape with Me," in which we are taken on a double journey. Gontran de Poncins was not searching merely for strange sights. His concern was with the Eskimo,

> with his life and traits, his broodings and ruminations, his invincible serenity in the face of the hardest physical existence lived by man anywhere upon earth. It was because of the simplicity and directness of his existence that I went into the Arctic to live with him; and living with him was not easy. Hardest of all was not the severity of the climate, not the intensity of the cold, not the physical anguish which, often, I endured as every man from Outside must endure it. The cold was a problem; but a very much more difficult problem was the Eskimo mentality. There was no getting on with the Eskimo except on his own terms; and as I was not a tourist concerned with externals, but a man concerned to find himself with the aid of the Eskimo, I had to get on with him. . . . I sought to *live* the Eskimo life. . . .

De Poncins succeeded, in so far as it was possible for a white man to succeed, in living the life of a people still in the stone age; and though he records enough "sights," strange and wonderful, amusing and repellent, to satisfy the most avid appetite, it is the story of his gradual absorption into the Eskimo existence, and the unpremeditated beauty of the telling, that yields the new-old reward of a good book—the sense of having shared a significant experience.

His first contact was with Eskimos whose mode of life had been softened and contaminated by poverty and by the standards and customs of men from the Outside; and it was like the thawing dirty edge of a glacier. Only after many weeks —and a grueling seventeen-day trip with sled and dogs— was he able to penetrate to Pelly Bay where he found the true Eskimo living as he had always lived.

The Eskimos of Pelly Bay are prosperous; their igloos are spacious and they have devised a communal architecture which nevertheless provides full scope for private life.

> Thanks to the abundance of seal, these people exhibited to me a powerful and dignified community. . . . The generosity and courtesy of their hospitality struck me as forcibly as the grace of their life. . . . True primitive hospitality consists not merely in welcoming the stranger but in seeking to incorporate him into the community.

Their friendliness also includes the privilege of making fun at his expense and they are wonderful mimics. De Poncins gives us portrait after portrait of individual Eskimos, men and women; scene after scene of family and communal life, and of the landscape, with its dogs and sleds, its furred huntsmen posed immobile—sometimes for days—over a seal's breathing space or a fishing hole in the ice; its nomad dwellers building an igloo with incredible speed and skill against time and the blizzard. One of the recurring images, since he was so often on the trail, is that of an igloo rising out of the waste, lighted from within by seal-oil lamps. And to those who read his book the frozen north becomes luminous too, lighted from within by the vigorous life of a proud people.

The sophisticate found among the primitive Eskimos the serenity he was looking for. He is no sentimentalist and he knew, even as he wished to stay, that he could not renounce his own world. But he brought back with him the profound realization that the serenity he had found was the fruit not of an "escape" to a primitive world but of a full participation in the communal life which is the price and the reward of existence in the Arctic. Civilization please note.

The book is illustrated by drawings, in line and color, by the author; and there is a sheaf of excellent photographs.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Eye-Witness

UNDER THE IRON HEEL. By Lars Moën. J. B. Lippincott Company. $2.75.

SUCH books as "Under the Iron Heel" are inevitable in wartime. We must resign ourselves to a spate of them in the near future. People with an urge to write, and fated by circumstances to become eye-witnesses of the European inferno, will be unable to withstand the temptation to set down personal experiences which they, of course, consider unique.

There is nothing fundamentally wrong with Mr. Moën's book except that it comes a little late, after a dozen or so competent foreign correspondents have revealed to us the tragedy of the brutal Nazi invasion of the Low Countries and the ruthless Nazi administration of occupied territories. Almost everything that Mr. Moën has to say has been said by others, only better. But while the professional observers on the spot were chafing under a rigorous censorship and were compelled to give us the low-down between the lines, Mr. Moën has unnecessarily shackled himself to a sublime ideal of strict objectivity.

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Only a scientist—and Lars Moën evidently is one—disciplined to work perseveringly according to a rigid formula, could so successfully have prevented his imagination, his emotions, and his nerves from intruding on his task. Mr. Moën possesses scientific self-restraint to a fault. Whenever anger or indignation threatened to overcome him he sternly curbed his impulse to succumb. Only rarely does he permit a conviction to sneak up on him. As a result "Under the Iron Heel" lacks human feeling, and because of his rather uneventful existence in a small hotel called "In the Shadow of the Cathedral" at Antwerp Mr. Moën's experiences are devoid of excitement—though it would be unkind to reproach the author for not having led a more heroic, adventurous life just to provide us with a more thrilling notebook.

After five months of a very uncomfortable existence Mr. Moëns does permit himself a few conclusions, which are neither startling nor even unexpected. Thus he believes—very cautiously, however—that the Germans may crack if the war continues and England keeps on harassing them with air raids. He also ventures to state that the Belgians do not love England as much as they hate the Germans. His objectivity, however, compels him to report that the Nazi soldiers, with but rare exceptions, behaved in quite an exemplary manner toward the conquered population and tried their best, although very clumsily, to befriend the unfortunate Belgians. All in all, Mr. Moën's very distasteful five months in Antwerp add little to our knowledge on the subject of the Nazi occupation of Belgium.

Robotlike as Mr. Moën's reactions are to daily life under the Iron Heel of the Nazis, there still unfolds, despite his measured tone of objectivity, a sordid picture of destruction, chaos, and bewilderment in a land that, until the Nazi occupation, was happy and good to live in. It is perhaps not so much because of what the book reveals (Mr. Moën reveals very little that we do not know), but because certain events, such as the exodus of the Belgians before the German invasion, evoke in us memories of horror stories read elsewhere. Prosaic and pedestrian as the descriptions are, we cannot but be moved by even the objective tales of the hunted men and women whom the strategic plan of the German General Staff made innocent victims of the war against France and England. The sinister role of the Gestapo, which dominates Nazi occupation in the Low Countries, was hardly observed by Mr. Moën from his hotel room or his laboratory, where he experimented with a new film color process. Whether this was due to his insistence on recording merely the surface life of this Belgian city, or whether at the time of his stay in Antwerp the Gestapo had not yet taken charge, is something I cannot say. But even the first day of Nazi occupation inaugurated a strict anti-Semitic policy which Mr. Moën might have noted—even objectively.

A civilization is being torn asunder in Europe by Hitler's hordes. His iron heel is crushing all innocent humanity that stands in his way to world conquest. It means cynical looting, undisguised plunder, ruthless gagging of any and all independent life, systematic exploitation and enslavement of non-Germans for the benefit of the Nazi *Herrenvolk*. You must therefore forgive me if Mr. Moën's book, with its tiptoeing over the fundamental issues involved, rather irritated me. Not until he is in Portugal, on his way to the United States, does he throw off his restraint and express his gratitude that there is still a world where butter, good coffee, sugar, and cabarets make life worth while.

No. "Under the Iron Heel" is too deadly a nightmare title for so gentle and objective a book as Mr. Moën's. Objectivity toward the Nazis is an artificial attitude which produces a reality that is out of focus. Even the best and most honest observer will produce a distorted picture if he uses an apparatus that lacks heart, memory, and a little, just a little, indignation.

PIERRE VAN PAASSEN

Tragic History

NIGHT OVER EUROPE: THE DIPLOMACY OF NEMESIS, 1939-1940. By Frederick L. Schuman. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

IN THIS remarkable book Professor Schuman unfolds with rare eloquence and penetration the tragedy of the last two years, tragedy from the point of view of the survival of the liberties of all democratic peoples. It is a continuation of his "Europe on the Eve," and shares with it the deep sincerity, the vigor of presentation, and the power of interpretation. It does not detract from the permanent value of the book that Professor Schuman, in writing his next volume, may find the guesses about the future which he ventures in the present book have left out of account certain important factors, as did the prognosis of his former book. Professor Schuman is probably right in saying that "any reversion to neutrality by America will almost inevitably mean the conquest of the world by the Triplice," but there seems to be little prospect of any such reversion, and Professor Schuman's book will have helped in clarifying democratic thought in that direction. And even louder than anyone's words speak the facts themselves.

The book combines an analysis of the past with a summons to the future. The most interesting passages of the analytical part are devoted to Stalin's attitude. As interesting though not as convincing is Professor Schuman's judgment on the motives of British policy before the outbreak of the war, which he regards as a well-laid-out, almost Machiavellian attempt to direct Germany against the Soviet Union.

At the root of the policy of appeasement was not primarily a class-conscious plot (though class concern and sometimes, especially in the case of Spain, an almost unbelievable class stupidity played a certain role), but a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of fascism. This misunderstanding was shared by many elements of the left; Lansbury and Faure (not to mention many American leftists) were more eager for "peace" than many of the conservatives. Right and left simply clung to the line of thought processes of yesterday, of least responsibility and least effort, and reflected in that the desire of the masses everywhere "for 'peace' through 'neutrality,' 'isolation,' and 'pacifism.'"

Professor Schuman has tried again and again to wake up the democracies. The pages in his book which he devotes to the United States are, like those on the Soviet Union, among the very best. They are a sharp indictment of isolationism, and of the pacifism which seeks to escape the terrors of war, not by organizing the world for peace but by refusing to

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oppose war-makers. Without aid from America and the Soviet Union, Professor Schuman sees Britain lost, and America and the Soviet Union lost as well. "Every dictate of self-preservation counseled aid to Britain to crush the Triplice before its members had achieved in the world arena that invincibility which was already theirs in western Europe and eastern Asia. But in epochs of decadence, rulers and peoples seek safety not by doing what is requisite for safety, whatever the cost, but by avoiding all responsibilities and risks until too late and thereby insuring their destruction." Thus the book ends in unmitigated gloom.

Professor Schuman's impatience, his despair, are understandable. He saw the tragedy unfold, and he knows that it could have been averted again and again by an understanding of its nature and by courageous action. He has done his share to bring about understanding and action. But though his impatience is understandable, it does not seem justified. He underrates the power of democracy to think and to act; he overrates the intelligence and efficiency of the totalitarian powers. The experiences of the last months have clearly shown that Hitler and Mussolini do not always have their way. It is a myth that totalitarianism means efficiency or is the form of survival in the twentieth century. The Japanese so far have been unable to conquer China and, though the German people are highly efficient, totalitarianism has proved its claim to efficiency neither in Italy nor in Russia. The new "élite" in Moscow, Tokyo, Rome, and Berlin are in no way superior to the people in office in London or Washington, except in their utter ruthlessness in the use of secret police and in their disregard for all human values and all objectivity of truth. The fact that the English last June and the Greeks last October said "No" to the apparent "owners of the future," may have changed the future. Totalitarianism in the long run can produce only apathy and lethargy in the masses, for fascism is not a revolutionary movement, but the first sustained and consistent effort to make all revolutions impossible and to freeze mankind in an "order" for a thousand years.

Professor Schuman rightly draws a distinction between tyranny (Hitler's, Mussolini's, Franco's, Stalin's rule) and dictatorship as a form of power resorted to voluntarily and temporarily by democracies to meet emergencies. He rightly argues against the "disposition of Democrats to regard 'Dictatorship' in time of crisis as fatal to Democracy rather than as fundamental to its preservation." But how different is this temporary and voluntary dictatorship from the vaunted totalitarian unity maintained with the help of Gestapos! Once the danger was realized in England, English democracy offered the spectacle of moral stamina which took the fascists by surprise and which was achieved with an astonishing degree of political and personal liberty and humane decency. English democracy stands up infinitely better under infinitely harder blows than does fascism in Italy; nobody knows how totalitarian Germany or Russia would stand up under similar blows. There is no reason to despair of London or Washington. They pay a terrible price for their late awakening, but since last June they have traveled a long way toward full awareness. Many today will agree with Professor Schuman that "the prime prerequisite is recognition that the world society is one, that it must be reconquered from the barbarians and reordered as a single polity in which justice for each is protected by the organized might of all." More and more recognize that the great withdrawal of America in 1919, the "realistic" abandonment of Wilson's "ideal," the shirking of responsibility for world peace and world order, were essential causes which made it possible for the Caesars to arise.

The world order to which Professor Schuman aspires is fundamentally opposed to the Caesarism which Spengler foresaw as the state form of the future. For Caesarism promises no stable world imperium. "What looms ahead [in Spengler's vision] is titanic and timeless strife among the empire-builders in ever wider arenas of combat. Beyond looms disintegration and the coming of the long darkness." In spite of all fascist assertions of the inevitability of this future and of the decadence of democracy, it is by no means certain that the future will belong to Caesarism instead of to a democratic world order. We do not know the outcome of the struggle; the future is unforeseeable; but those who believe in world democracy and in the values of liberty, equality, fraternity, have no reason to be overcome by gloom. They will carry on, "strong in will to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield." The world of the Spenglerian future is in his own estimate meaningless and insipid. The dark forces of the ages scorn as absurd—to use words of the Pétain regime—the belief in the equality of men and in government by the people, the great heritage of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' revolutions. But in a similarly decisive period of struggle between liberty and authoritarianism Fox wrote to Lord Holland: "I believe that the love of political liberty is *not* an error; but, if it is one, I am sure I shall never be converted from it, and I hope you never will. If it be an illusion, it is one that has brought forth more of the best qualities and exertions of the human mind than all other causes put together; and it serves to give an interest in the affairs of the world, which without it would be insipid." There is night not only over Europe, but over the world; Professor Schuman has written the great epic of that night; his eyes are so fascinated by the darkness, which he describes in a masterly way, that he does not see the dawn which he himself has helped to bring about.

HANS KOHN

A New Reading of Shelley

SHELLEY. By Newman Ivey White. Alfred A. Knopf. Two Volumes. $12.50.

FOR many of us the life of Shelley has meant Maurois's "Ariel" and Elinor Wylie's biblio-flirtation with "The Orphan Angel." Though nineteenth-century readers could accept his poems, for his private life they always thought with Carlyle that "yon fellow Shelley was a scoundrel." But since 1920, though indifferent to the poetry, we have found stagey personifications of our own moral shell-chipping in the "true stories" of Ariel Shelley, Glorious Apollo Byron, and the rest of their circle. As both the preface to this new, two-volume, twenty-year work and the body of the biography itself make clear, Professor White's "Shelley" is in an altogether different genre, a picture of the most considerable

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sort. The working credo recited in the introduction should be a mirror for all engaged in serious biographical studies. And the reconstruction of the life is a job done to meet all requirements, I should guess, for another century.

It is now fifty years since Dowden wrote the last thorough life of Shelley. Much new material has appeared; in letters alone, the chief source for Shelley, White has used 600 to Dowden's 150. This fact, added to his belief that the perspective of time on the old material is of critical value, constitute White's apologia. His procedure is equally unassuming and authoritative: "to keep myself as far in the background as possible, allowing the readers every opportunity of forming judgments of their own." He admits that the biographer's absolutes, "fidelity to facts" and "justice to personality," are unattainables. His devices are: an over-use of "perhaps," "apparently," and "it seems"; abstention from invented conversations and imputed thoughts; a commonsense, pre-Vienna psychology, "the only one yet proper to biography." With these he has singularly realized his hope of "adding to and refining the body of truth which is necessary to understand so great a poet and personality."

I do not rehearse these merely as prefatorial pieties, but rather because they have so nervingly informed with sensible liveliness what in similar works often remains just more information. Revealed, not obscured, by careful documentation; its thoroughness proportioned to the pace of events; candidly dignified, sensitively unprejudiced—the familiar story has never come through better. P. Shelley, atheos and Oxford expellee; the two Harriets and Hogg, and the elopement with Mary Godwin; the Italian group—Byron, Claire Clairmont, Trelawney, and the Hunts; Emily Viviani; Jane Williams with a guitar; the boat, toy, and symbol; Sophocles and Keats in the drowned man's pockets; the heart that would not burn; and aftermath of widow and wrangling friends. D. H. Lawrence comes to memory—the misinterpreted pure-in-heart, and *so* many women. Professor White's especial contributions are an emphasis on the childhood because of many carry-overs, Shelley's lifelong sense of mission, his well-recorded readings, his health and mental peculiarities.

Such definitive portraiture of the poet and man, however, only makes more urgent the present need for some new anatomizing light on the poetry itself. Not until the last two chapters does White permit himself to approach this problem. Believing that "great poetry is degraded by prose commentary," he satisfies himself by quoting throughout many passages which "assert their greatness better than any attempted exposition could." Not necessarily, of course; that depends on the expositor. And less friendly critics have not shown similar hesitation in exposing some of those same passages as examples of plain bad writing. White graphs the rise of Shelley from an early popularity among non-poetic, "radical" groups, to a place among the five or six greatest English poets—a rise curiously accompanied by an ever-increasing rejection of the beliefs he held, lived by, and wrote of in most of his poetry. The criticism of the detractors is fully acknowledged—Arnold, Leslie Stephens, P. E. More—as well as the kindlier but no less deadly variety administered by Francis Thompson. For a poet's boobification the epithet of "an enchanted child peering over his metaphysics" is quite as sufficient as that of "an ineffectual angel beating

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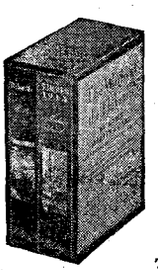
THE WORLD OF THE THIBAULTS

by Roger Martin du Gard NOBEL PRIZE WINNER



For the first time in English, the complete text of the eleven French volumes which won for their author The Nobel Prize. The first—and smaller—section, *The Thibaults*, was published here in 1939. Readers of that volume may obtain the new volume, *Summer 1914*, separately at $3.50. TWO VOLUMES BOXED $6.00.

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his luminous wings." White makes out his case for the future of Shelley's poetry—in so far as he makes one or feels the need for such—on three points: "a peculiar intensity which, with his music, makes Shelley one of our most hypnotic poets; a unique sense of loneliness; a superb faith in human destiny." Howsoever it is, he says, Shelley's reputation is ever on the increase. Where—except perhaps in university presses or the pages of the P. M. L. A.?

The apathy, if not actual antagonism, toward Shelley's poetry at the present time is a fact not to be minimized. And if one believes that criticism does bear a real, efficient relationship to the health of the body poetic, then this is certainly the moment for its utmost operation by pro-Shelleyean critics. Of the true, two-faceted nature of the poetic faculty Shelley's own definition will do as well as any. The mature poet is both a discoverer of poetry and a maker of poetry; "by the function he creates new materials for knowledge, by the other he reproduces them according to rhythm and order." It is not often though that this ideal of the *whole* poet is either sought or commended. Shelley's own practice emphasized markedly the first half, as did most of the poets who followed him for almost a hundred years. Our own poets have leaned heretically toward the second; descending rather in a Keatsian line, we have tended to produce a poetry of words, the dense, starch-stiff *factibile*. Accordingly, the first century of Shelley critics, in genteel conspiracy, eliminated his poetic "material" as too tenuous for consideration. Our latter-day precisionists, taking up at that point—some of them even finding his ideas "repellent"—have proceeded from their own new bias to attack his craftsmanship, his "music." That about brings the obituary notice full-round. The best, for instance, that the barometric Eliot can say for Shelley (whom he cites as the typical schoolboy "crush" poet) is that "toward the end of his life he was beginning to profit by his reading of Dante." There have been a few voices raised in resuscitation, for the most part those of scholars. But in those higher councils where the tastes of a period are formed, almost no one has made any effort to see Shelley's poetry plain and new.

The beginnings of a fresh, helpful approach to this body of work might well be found in Yeats, both for useful comparison and as one of the few congenial commentators. A similar attempt is already starting to enjoy Yeats "as" poetry, while spoofing about the Besant-ific "vision" which the poems exactly reflect. This is not possible, finally; and it is wrong—wrong because wasteful of the very value in that vision there contained. It seems as if no prophet is so without honor as he who is at once a poet. And yet the poet-seer has always been a familiar conjunction, and in the nature of human psychology must continue to be. In his "Essays" Yeats writes of Shelley: "One cannot help thinking him a vague thinker unless one compares passages till one has discovered the system of beliefs that lay behind them. He soon became more than a Godwinian revolutionist . . . he foresaw more than political regeneration. Having experienced all but the most profound mystical states . . . he awakened in himself the age of faith."

Yeats sees in Shelley's technique, his language, an instinctive and fairly advanced attempt to find, "as the poet of pure ideas and essences must," a vocabulary of precise symbols. Just as he constantly sought an expression of human spirituality clearer than any possible in the provided forms of his times, so he persistently experimented with a new poetic speech "uncorroded by custom." Rather than being just clichés, picked up in his reading of Gothic horror tales, his recurrent *lamp, cave, ship, river, veil* are the initial entries in that new lexicon—a multi-denotative language—which poets ever since have been trying to piece together. Yeats, himself, closer in his methods to Shelley than any other, and following them out to the furthest reaches, evolved a symbolic vocabulary uniquely successful among modern poets.

The usefulness of Yeats's remarks on Shelley—and I have only suggested the directions he indicates for a rehabilitation—is that they show Shelley in a different, wider context than is usual. A recent book by B. Ifor Evans, "Tradition and Romanticism," trying to break up the conventional categorizations of English literature, does the same. Because he carried certain tendencies to their greatest extremes, and because in the argot of lecture hall and literature outline these tendencies are termed "romantic," Shelley's poetry has been made a clothes-rack for the whole wardrobe of the "romantic period"—that mythology of old embroideries. We are now almost unable to see the text, what for the textbooks. Because of curricular exigencies, the arts must all be mustered into a presentable order, and history set going like a pendulum that we may tell school time by poets. The case of Shelley, as well as the other "romantics" from whom we have now been for some time "reacting," demonstrates how necessary it is to uncataract our reading from these formulas. We must for

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a time accustom ourselves, in the widest possible extent, to apparent disassociations, "a powder of particularities." Then we may slowly come to have, rather than a table-of-contents knowledge, a *sense* of and *friendship* with an enlarging, inviolable unity where ride the superficial cycles, the ticking antinomies, "in their green going, a wave interminably flowing." History then might be seen as "a stream of biography"; writing one of its vocalities, as so many testaments, incalculably, ever-changingly interrelated. One of the jobs of criticism would be to observe these free associations as they reveal each other and the mystery of their common buoyancy.

Seen in some such way, the whole phenomenon of Shelley and his poetry will be of much greater meaning and use to us. He lived at a time when the world's last great picture-order was cracking apart from the pressure of internal energies. Those fissures completely sundered now explicate the dead level where we ourselves walk. It was his especial grace that he was freed almost at once from the hindrances of the old life, and that in his short maturity he tried almost all of the successive adaptations which the eruptive new life was to take for a hundred years to come. He mastered the science of his time; he worked at social reform; he trained himself in philosophy; his personal difficulties came from his effort to find a human relationship that might fill his peculiar needs. In retrospect he seems to have described in sizable dimension that "ordeal" which a self-appointed succession of men have been undergoing ever since—"the heroes' journey to the cinders," in Hulme's phrase.

Shelley did not live out this experience under the vacuum-bell intension of Rimbaud's season. Nor did he achieve that "bisexual" maturity that Mann suggests in his Goethe-Joseph ideal—though Edward Carpenter analyzes many of Shelley's emotional troubles as a failure to so realize himself. Like Lawrence he did insist that "conversion does not operate through negation of passion but through its aid and for its affirmation." And his Love is certainly that Eros which is not the destroyer but "the builder of cities" in Christ and Freud, Blake and Auden. He came to believe that the supernatural could inbreak upon time only through individuals, individuals freed from those "desires that cannot live with wisdom." His last letters show how completely he had lived through and past, one after another, the false, old heteronymous refuges. Shortly before he died he wrote, "I live from day to day." He did not live long enough to issue forth from that passive vacancy; Rilke, alone perhaps, has been permitted through endurance to hear his angels speak. Nor could Shelley see with the same specific clarity what Henry Miller has begun to say: "When the old hierarchies are finally broken down, there is the drift to the new unthinkable order, the era of the Holy Ghost." Shelley's Hellenism thus is no nostalgic looking back at the broken columns of Greece, but rather his latest and not yet adequate symbol of the future, so much of which lay already half-open in his intensely apprehended present.

This lengthy coda to the consideration of Professor White's work is not aimed to imply correction or derogation; nor is it merely an indulgence of personal vagaries. White's lens has been occupied, and rightly, only with certain aspects of one man. All that I have suggested, though pertinent, is either unknown or unmentioned by him. This has seemed the proper and urgent time and place, however, to suggest the picture in a different pair of eyes, binoculars that sweep a longer, less detailed stretch. Maritain says, "As the world breaks up we see the things of the spirit gather together . . . art and poetry, metaphysics and wisdom." Shelley is one who belongs there in that gathering. We cannot afford to lose any part of his rich participations: either through faulty knowledge or divisive attitudes.

SHERMAN CONRAD

The Finnish-Russian War

INVASION IN THE SNOW: A STUDY OF MECHANIZED WAR. By John Langdon-Davies. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

MR. LANGDON-DAVIES is a British journalist who was assigned to report the Russo-Finnish War. Immediately after the end of the war, in April, 1940, he wrote this book and it was originally published in England under the title of "Finland: The First Total War." Instead of a chronological history—more emphasis on the time sequence would have been helpful—events are classified under three headings, each of which is studied as a separate entity: the guerrilla fighting, the position warfare, and the attack on the civil population. There is a fourth and final section on the social and economic structure of Finland, in which the author discovers the source of the high Finnish morale.

One is constantly impressed by the ingenuity of the Finns —their careful exploitation of every advantage of terrain and environment, their "winter roads," their Suomi pistols, their stoves which burned without telltale smoke or sparks. Ample evidence of their skill in warfare is the fact that on one occasion they annihilated 36,000 Russians at the total cost of 150 of their own men. The fighting on the Carelian Isthmus was similar to the Meuse-Argonne offensive of 1918. On each battleground a greatly superior force attacked along a narrow front against an entrenched position in a heavily wooded region, and the results were much the same in both cases. The war demonstrated plainly that Soviet Russia is as barren of military genius as was Imperial Russia. Seldom did the Russian operations show any trace of skill, let alone brilliance. Stalin, like his Tsarist predecessors, apparently relied for victory upon the inexhaustible reserves of Russian manpower, and in consequence the same stupid, costly frontal attacks with which the world had become familiar in 1914-18 were repeated in Finland.

The author went to Finland convinced that Soviet Russia could not be altogether bad. He would not believe that "the Red Army could treat the common soldier precisely as the Tsar had treated him," nor that a proletarian government "would willingly sacrifice human life with a liberality usually attributed only to profit-making merchants of death." He dismissed as propaganda the stories of Russian bombings of hospitals, women, and children. But he came back from the war completely disillusioned, despising the Russians, and earnestly determined to prove to those who had thought as he had that the Russia they had envisioned was wholly imaginary. To the latter project he devotes much of the book, and it should be required reading now, when we are inclined to overlook the Finnish war, the land-grabs in Poland, Rumania, and the Baltic states, and to welcome Russia into the fold.

HARVEY S. FORD

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FILMS

Academy Awards

Hollywood, March 6

THE Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences is best known to the public for its annual awards dinner. The institution was founded in 1927 with the late Douglas Fairbanks as president, ostensibly to promote and reward artistic endeavor in the industry, and for this purpose it introduced the custom of annually handing out gold statuettes for the most outstanding achievements in various branches of motion-picture work. The academy, actually, had other functions besides prize-giving and served as a most convenient producers' organization. The formation of the academy, in fact, coincided rather significantly with an attempt by Actors Equity to enter the Hollywood field. The purpose of the academy was so apparent that it came to be recognized as a sort of producers' guild and it was partly in opposition to this that, in 1933, the Screen Actors Guild embarked on its career. The main show-down between the guild and the academy occurred in 1935 when members of the guild decided to boycott the awards banquet; however, some sort of compromise was effected at the last moment and a sprinkling of players did attend. Nevertheless from that time on the strength of the guild rapidly increased, and in 1937 it successfully negotiated a contract.

Last Friday found producers and actors sitting down to the thirteenth annual academy dinner with an admirable display of amity and solidarity. Thirteen hundred people attended the festivities; two hundred of them were guests of the academy while the remainder had paid either twenty-five dollars each to sit at a ringside table or eleven dollars for a rather more distant view of the proceedings. Among the recipients of gold statuettes were Ginger Rogers, James Stewart, John Ford, Preston Sturges, Donald Ogden Stewart, and "Rebecca." Highlights of this year's dinner were President Roosevelt's speech, which was delivered to the guests by radio before the dinner started, and the suspense created by the unusual procedure of keeping the winners secret until the actual presentation of the awards.

The winners are now chosen by an elaborate balloting system: first, the various branches of the industry send in nominations for the awards and then everyone regularly engaged in the production of motion pictures—actors, directors, writers, producers, and their staffs, cinematographers, etc.—is sent a ballot sheet on which he records his votes. This year the ballot sheets were sent to Messrs. Price Waterhouse and Company, the accountants, who returned the result of the 12,000-odd votes at the last moment. The announcements this year were as usual received with acclaim, the award to Miss Rogers being particularly popular. Miss Rogers, who found the experience altogether too much, dissolved into tears, as did Mrs. Jack Oakie when her husband failed to capture the award for the best supporting actor; otherwise, with one exception, all went happily.

The only serious spot on the tablecloth was made by Quentin Reynolds, whose monophonic and slightly lugubrious commentary to "London Can Take It" caused such a furore. Mr. Reynolds had been chosen to present the writing awards and made a short facetious speech about the academy's having the votes added by Messrs. Price Waterhouse. He doubted, he said, if many of the people present could count up to 12,000 and then added "Yes, there are a couple of producers who could count—but not in English." Mr. Reynolds, who has arrived in town to a fanfare of favorable publicity, departed to the tune of very different music.

It is interesting to note in connection with the academy awards that Dr. Gallup has recently conducted, through the American Institute of Public Opinion, a poll on the most popular movie releases of last year. The public selected as the best pictures of 1940: "Boom Town," "Knute Rockne," "Northwest Passage," "Rebecca," "Strike Up the Band," and "Fighting 69th," a very different selection from the nominations for the academy awards which were: "All This And Heaven Too," "Foreign Correspondent," "Kitty Foyle," "The Grapes of Wrath," "Our Town," "The Great Dictator," "The Letter," "The Long Voyage Home," "Philadelphia Story," and "Rebecca."

It is difficult to draw any conclusion from this vast discrepancy between the public's taste and the industry's estimation of its best achievements. However, one begins to regard the industry's more ambitious production with something approaching awe. With the average movie-goer mentally arrested somewhere near the pre-adolescent adventurous stage, the industry's sallies into sentimental adolescence (the highest common factor of production and public taste), are impressive, while the adult offerings of the industry on its more conscious levels are of staggering boldness. The trade papers have pointed out that Dr. Gallup's survey represents box-office opinion, but the producers probably won't forget that the public has a way of growing up a little every year and that it's well to keep ahead of it.

THE PRESIDENT TO THE INDUSTRY

Roosevelt's speech marked the first occasion on which a president has addressed the film industry. The speech stressed the importance of the industry as an instrument of propaganda (without using the objectionable word) both over the entire continent and abroad. The President expressed his thanks to the newsreels for clarifying the issues of the lease-lend bill to the public, and to the industry as a whole for its Pan-American good-will policy. He wound up by saying, "For all this and for your splendid cooperation with all who are directing the expansion of our defense forces, I am glad to thank you. In the months and weeks that lie ahead, we in Washington know that we shall have your continued aid and support." A very nice thing to know.

Hollywood is delighted, up to a point, with the speech, and enchanted with Walter Wanger who is acting as a kind of self-appointed liaison officer with Washington and who is reported to be getting along there famously; however, some people have found the speech tinged a little with paternalism and, jealous of Hollywood's independence of governmental influence, are slightly annoyed at the publicity given to its cooperation in the defense program. The defense set-up in Hollywood is an interesting study and will be dealt with shortly in this column.

RECENT FILMS

"Nice Girl" disclosed Deanna Durbin in a series of familiar situations. She sings in a very pretty voice to her family, to the guests at the Boat Club Ball, and to an entire regiment of draftees. Meanwhile, she finds time to fall in and out of love with Franchot Tone. Recommended to Durbin fans.

Preston Sturges does a very remarkable job with his latest picture "The Lady Eve." He first writes for himself a script neither particularly original nor very subtle in its humor, chooses Henry Fonda and Barbara Stanwyck, both noted for heavy dramatics rather than for comedy, to play the leads, and then proceeds by prodigies of direction to

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concoct one of the most amusing and delightful films seen on the screen for a long time. The almost Rabelaisian gusto with which Mr. Sturges works, communicates itself most successfully to the audience, and the cutting and tempo of the picture should be studied by every director in the industry.

"Rage in Heaven" is a rollicking melodrama masquerading as a psychopathic study. Perhaps James Hilton's novel treated the psychopathic angle more seriously; luckily the film concentrates on telling an exciting story, which it does with some success. Ingrid Bergman, in the most hideous clothes imaginable, looks enchanting and acts with conviction while Robert Montgomery makes an engaging if somewhat nonchalant appearance as a paranoiac.

Bowdlerized by the Hays office, rewritten for the screen by Nunnally Johnson, directed by John Ford, "Tobacco Road" emerges as a rather slapstick, castrated version of the murky stage play. It would seem that John Ford, after a lengthy screen experience with landless workers and farmers of a different caliber (in "The Grapes of Wrath"), just could not bring himself to believe that the Lesters and their neighbors were nearly as black as Erskine Caldwell had painted them. Perhaps he is right but in this version they are certainly less entertaining than ever before—though the film is worth seeing for the superb photography.

ANTHONY BOWER

MUSIC

EACH time that I hear Webster Aitken play the piano I am astonished all over again by what distinguishes him from other pianists of equal talent. What his playing offers—as against the warmth, the plasticity, the fluency of theirs—and what is heard with a shock after those qualities, is the sharp contours and powerful tensions of a concentrated style that gives the music the impress of individual, forceful, and extraordinarily matured qualities of mind and feeling. In the middle section of the second movement of Mozart's Concerto K. 595, which Aitken played recently with the New York Philharmonic under Walter, these contours and tensions—created with the utmost subtlety in phrases that revealed themselves with the utmost quiet—made the long cantilena one of the most exciting things I have ever heard.

In a properly organized musical life such a musician would be heard constantly and everywhere—in solo recitals, in performances with orchestras, in broadcasts, on phonograph records. In our commercialized musical life such a musician has almost no place. A man who plays Beethoven's "Diabelli" Variations and Schubert's sonatas is not material for commercial exploitation by the two huge concert-management combines which monopolize concert activity throughout the country by their own system of block-booking, and which use this system to fill the ears of the population eternally with the easy effectiveness, the sentimentality, the flashy virtuosity of standardized programs of Chopin Nocturnes, Liszt's Rhapsodies and "Liebestraum," and, at most, Beethoven's "Pathétique" and "Moonlight" and other early sonatas. A superb musician who is not built up into a commercially valuable property by these managements is not worth anything to broadcasting and record companies which traffic in currently celebrated names. Nor is he worth much to symphony orchestras; and if he chooses to give the audience and critics subtlety in a Mozart concerto instead of thundering imposingly for them in Beethoven's "Emperor" he is not likely to be engaged soon again.

Nor—from the story as it has reached me—is even the one experience what it should be. Concerto performances as perfectly integrated—which is to say as carefully worked out in rehearsal—as those of Schnabel with the New Friends of Music Orchestra last year, and with the National Orchestral Association the year before, are exceptional. A conductor, as I have pointed out on occasion, normally does not put a concerto on a program as something worth doing for itself, like a symphony. It is, instead, something he has to accept with the soloist, and something he has little interest in, since its purpose is to show off the soloist, not himself. If, then, he has two and a half hours in which to rehearse a Mozart concerto and a piece of rubbish by Korngold for orchestra alone, he will give most of the time to the rubbish by Korngold—unless the soloist is important enough to command the time necessary to achieve some degree of homogeneity of phrasing and style and some degree of integrated execution in the joint performance. If the soloist is only a young American he will get the last thirty minutes of the rehearsal for a work that requires that long merely to play through—time enough, in fact, merely to rush through it once, and not time enough for the soloist to make his wishes known, or for the conductor, himself a Mozart specialist with his own sentimental way of playing the music, to discover that the soloist is one whose wishes merit consideration. The result is an all but improvised performance in which our young American must concentrate all his attention and effort into merely fitting his notes smoothly into the work as the conductor creates it in accordance with his own conception of it. Mr. Walter—by the evidence of his recent performances with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra and the Metropolitan Opera Association—is a man of impressive gifts as conductor and musician; but that performance of Mozart's K. 595 was, among other things, an example of a virtuoso conductor's artistic consciencelessness and personal ruthlessness.

The Ballet Theater has offered competent, lively performances of "Les Sylphides," "Swan Lake," and "The Bluebird," but performances which, inevitably challenging comparison with those of the Ballet Russe, have lost by one's recollection of the aura of stylistic brilliance about Toumanova's every movement in these classical ballets, the unique lightness and fluent grace of Riabouchinska, and other things of the sort. More successful and enjoyable have been the Ballet Theater's productions of the modern ballets in which the dancers' limitations have been less apparent or of less consequence. The best of these, I would say, is Eugene Loring's "Billy the Kid," taken over from the Ballet Caravan, with music by Aaron Copland that is almost unbelievably good to listen to and admirably contrived for the purposes—which is to say the theatrical point, the wit, the atmosphere—of choreography that is as strikingly original and effective in the simple *pas de deux* as in the most complex counterpoint of differently paced movement. Original also is the vocabulary, the style which Antony Tudor uses with beautiful effect for the expression of the intensity and agony of "Jardin aux lilas," with Chausson's nostalgic "Poème" as a sort of musical backdrop. With Tudor's "Dark Elegies" I had the difficulty that I was occasionally aware of the words of Mahler's songs referring to specific things which the movements had no relation to; but I also found the movements pointless or inadequate in relation to the music, of which they were presumably a visual interpretation, and unimpressive in themselves.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Communists and Unions

Dear Sirs: Your editorial, Communists and Unions (March 1 issue), seems to be based on the presumption that the Communists are to blame for all the new and exasperating troubles that labor unions have had to face during the past decade. Trade unionism once "seemed a fairly simple proposition" of a movement to obtain "fair wages and decent working conditions," but now it has become a complicated and bewildering struggle because "them damn Communists" are boring from within. Such seems to be the grounds for your approbation of the purge which the Counts faction in the American Federation of Teachers tries to accomplish. Your premises are too simple. They are like the explanations that labor-union politicians of the old bureaucratic school are giving for the perpetuating of their regime.

But even you seem to be conscious of the contradiction in the purge as a means of resolving internal union problems. You recognize that Communists in unions are "willing and efficient brothers" who "do whatever of the hard work of the organization they can lay their hands on." Is it possible that you and Brother Counts mistake any zealous, hard-working unionist for a Communist? You intimate that getting rid of Communists is not enough. So does Brother Counts. The fellow-travelers are not amenable to bureaucratic discipline. Then there are the honest liberals who refuse to join in the hue and cry against Communists. You will have to get rid of all of them to restore the unions to their former static and relatively peaceful condition.

Now that Counts, with the help of labor bureaucrats, has started his purge, where can he end it? He started out to get rid of Local 5. Already he has had to purge the College Teachers Union, Local 537; the New York WPA Local 453; and the Philadelphia Local 192; that is, about 25 or 30 per cent of the membership of the Federation. There are a great many members of the American Federation of Teachers throughout the country who take old-fashioned American principles of tolerance, democracy, and freedom seriously, and to whom a purge is exceedingly distasteful. How can the Counts faction have any peace if it does not get rid of all of them? Yes, he has "taken the bull by the horns," and he is likely to lose much of his professional dignity before he is through with it. His course certainly does involve "dangers and painful precedents."

Your statement that the Counts faction will get "rid of a growth that has been sapping it (the A. F. of T.) internally and exposing it to attack from without" is wholly contrary to fact. The history of the American Federation of Teachers during the past decade shows conclusively that it has grown in membership, prestige, and effectiveness during the period when the four locals that are to be expelled were flourishing. As for the attacks "from without," most of them have been from labor-union politicians who are exploiting the red issue on the slightest pretext. And, of course, any *bona fide* militant union inevitably runs afoul of such attacks as Dies and Coudert make.

CHARLES J. HENDLEY, President,
The Teachers Union of the City of New York, Local 5, A. F. of T.
New York, March 8

Dear Sirs: Your editorial Communists and Unions is an illuminating and fair analysis of the problems faced by unions in general and the American Federation of Teachers in particular. Your distinction between closed-shop unions and those in the field of civil service and education and the statement that membership tests which might be valid in the latter would be unjust in the former are, I think, helpful.

Without knowing the answer to the problems you raise I should like to offer my testimony on the difficulties which prompted the action of the American Federation of Teachers. I had what must now seem the dubious honor and privilege of helping Dr. Counts organize a "save-the-union" committee in 1935. Our purpose was to prevent elements now organized in the Teachers Guild from "purging" the union and applying tests. We succeeded, but also we failed. (It may be important to call attention to this service of Dr. Counts, in view of the Communist attacks upon him.) The Communists were in control of the union in a fairly short time. I have known members of the union to admit this in private years ago and to deny it in public in order to prevent "red baiting." The control was not so apparent during the days of the united front when Russian foreign policy dictated Communist policies in general conformity with those followed by other groups. It became crystal clear with the signing of the Russian-Nazi pact.

Some of us have been challenged recently by those who have not been "through the mill," to wrest control of the unions from the Communists "by the democratic process." But it is difficult to find enough people with the time or energy to devote themselves to the purely negative task of preventing a trade union from falling under the control of a determined and disciplined minority. They would rather resign than be engaged in this thankless and uncreative task. Incidentally, some of us now smile sardonically when the Communists protest against a membership referendum as undemocratic, for we remember when they insisted on more "delegate assemblies" and fewer meetings of the executive committee. The assemblies were supposed to be more democratic but they were preferred in fact because a disciplined minority could count on a larger proportion of absentees among its opponents in the general body.

There is no solution for this problem which may not be subject to abuse and which may not seem undemocratic to the uninitiated, that is, those who do not know with what chicane a determined minority can use and abuse the democratic process for the purpose of destroying it. We must be careful to preserve essential democracy, but we will hardly be impressed by the touching solicitude for democracy, expressed by elements in the union which have for years practiced every trick of the trade in keeping a minority in control.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR
New York, March 7

Dear Sirs: To those of us who have been engaged in the thankless task of reestablishing democratic principles and purposes in the New York teachers' unions, your editorial of March 1 came as a welcome harbinger of change in the climate of American liberal opinion.

One further point might have served as support for your argument. Any union must stand or fall on the basis of

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its ability to organize the workers in the industry under its jurisdiction and to effectively represent their interests. On this basis alone the New York locals of the A. F. of T. stand condemned. The College Teachers Union claimed 1,100 members at the time of its formation in 1938. At the present time there are, from all indications, not many more than 600 in good standing, and many of these are from the non-instructional staffs. Local 5 has experienced an even more drastic loss in membership. It once boasted a membership of around 6,500. Recently the national office of the A. F. of T. communicated with 6,300 persons still on its mailing list, asking them to indicate by return postal whether or not they considered themselves members of the union in good standing. Although the administration of Local 5 conducted a vigorous campaign to have the cards returned with affirmative answers, only about 2,100 so replied. Making all possible allowances, it is fair to conclude that the membership of Local 5 does not now greatly exceed 3,000. And there are some 40,000 teachers within its jurisdiction. Furthermore, Local 5 has been expelled from the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations, an affiliation of which it was so proud only two years ago. Both New York City locals have been expelled from the Central Trades and Labor Council.

A final word of commendation for your comments on that form of political blackmail by which all opposition is branded "red-baiting." If the members of the A. F. of T. understand this tactic for what it is worth, it will again be possible for such outstanding liberals as John Dewey, John Childs, Reinhold Niebuhr, and hundreds of others to return to teacher unionism—where they rightfully belong. JAMES LOEB, JR.

New York, March 6

Dear Sirs: Your editorial (Communists and Trade Unions) in the March 1 *Nation* shocked and distressed us. At a time when trade unionists should be bending all their efforts to maintain and strengthen their ranks, at a time when the enemies of labor are doing their best to strip the unions of their hard-earned rights, at such a time it is discouraging to find the voices of the "liberals" beginning to join in the hue and cry.

For six years most of us have been members of Local 5, A. F. of T. We have tried to be good trade unionists by attending meetings and taking as active a part as possible in the work of the union. We have been affiliated with no faction and have always voted independently along the lines which seemed best for the union's growth and effectiveness.

At all times there has been full and free discussion of important issues. At all times decisions were reached by the democratic process. The administration of the union was elected last spring by 80 per cent of those voting. The election was honest and represented the free choice of the membership. Isn't it still part of the democratic process to stand by duly elected leaders till they are denied at the polls by their own responsible electorate?

ELBERT LENROW, JULIA HAMLIN, HARRY HELLER, DOROTHY EMERSON, and others
Fieldston School Chapter, Private School Section, Teachers Union, Local 5.

New York, March 7

The D. A. R. Protests

Dear Sirs: A letter signed by certain of our members, in the *New Republic* and in *The Nation* (February 22), accuses the National Executive Committee of the Descendants of the American Revolution of undemocratic procedure in adopting the resolution opposing H.R. 1776. This action was taken in accordance with the statement of policy adopted by the National Council on January 12, 1941, and with paragraph (a), section 3, of our constitution, in our capacity as the duly elected executive body of the organization.

The National Council's statement of policy was passed unanimously. It had therefore the vote of two members who signed *The Nation* letter.

Our constitution states it is our principle "To reaffirm the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, to uphold the Constitution of the United States, and actively to defend the liberties guaranteed therein by furthering the principles of democracy in the political, social, and economic life of the United States of America."

On the question of a referendum of the membership before any resolution is adopted, it is the function of the national executive committee to act for the membership as their duly elected representatives by applying the policies of the organization to specific and immediate legislation.

The National Executive Committee in its statement on H.R. 1776 made it clear that it did not take a stand on the issue of foreign policy, which is outside of its scope. In the statement released to the press the National Executive Committee made clear that they opposed the Bill because "it is an undemocratic abdication of their powers by the people and their elected representatives."

The National Council and the National Executive Committee opposes, and will continue to oppose, any bill which in any way endangers the Bill of Rights or the Constitution of the United States. MARION BRAND,

Recording Secretary for the National Executive Committee, Descendants of the American Revolution.

New York, March 7

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THE NATION, 55 Fifth Ave., New York. Price 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, $1. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

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